2001 National Work-Life Conflict Study : Report One

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The 2001 National Work–Life Conflict Study:

Report One

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Final Report
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Foreword

The issues associated with balancing work[1] and family are of paramount importance to individuals, the organizations that employ them, the families that care for them, the unions that represent them and governments concerned with global competitiveness, citizen well-being and national health. Although much has been written about the topic, only a handful of "high impact" studies has been conducted on this subject in Canada.[2] Despite the popular press's fixation on the topic (reflecting its readers' interest) there are, at this time, little sound empirical data available to inform the debate. This is unfortunate as credible research in this area has the power to change how governments and employers think about the issue and how they formulate and implement human resource, social and labour policy.

A decade ago we, along with our colleagues Dr. Catherine Lee at the University of Ottawa and Dr. Shirley Mills at Carleton University, conducted a national study of work–life conflict in Canada to "explore how the changing relationship between family and work affects organizations, families and employers."[3] In total, 14,549 employees from 37 medium and large private-sector organizations and 5,921 employees from 7 federal public service departments participated in this research.

A lot has happened in the 10 years since we conducted our first study on work–family balance. Academic research on the topic has burgeoned. Our personal understanding of the dynamics between work and family domains has broadened, as we have undertaken research with a number of companies in both the public and private sector (a list of publications resulting from this research can be found in Appendix A).

Nationally, the 1990s was a decade of turbulence for working Canadians as companies downsized, rightsized, restructured and globalized. The recession of the early 1990s was followed by the "jobless recovery" of the mid-1990s and job security was the issue that absorbed many working Canadians and their families. Organizations, faced with a glut of competent employees from which to choose, often paid little attention to becoming "best practice" with respect to human resource management. Paradoxically, at the beginning of the new millennium there has been a complete about-face with respect to this issue as employers, faced with impending labour shortages, have become preoccupied with recruiting and retaining "knowledge workers."[4] Such employers have recognized that a focus on "human capital" is one key to increased productivity for the workforce of 2001 and beyond.

Throughout the 1990s, technological change and the need to be globally competitive increased the pressures on organizations and employees alike. Time in employment increased for many, as did the use of non-standard types of employment. Non-work demands also increased over the decade as family structures continued to change and the percentage of working Canadians with child care, elder care, or both (the sandwich generation) continued to rise.

Taken together, these changes suggest it is time for another rigorous empirical look at the issue of work–life conflict. The research outlined in this report and the others in the series was designed to provide business and labour leaders, policy makers and academics with an objective "big picture" view on what has happened in this area in Canada in the last decade and what the current situation is. As such, it will allow interested parties to separate the rhetoric from the reality with respect to work–life conflict.

The research study has the following objectives:

1. Quantify the issues associated with balancing work and family, in the year 2001 and compare the situation today to that of 10 years earlier.

2. Quantify the benefits (to employees, employers, families and Canadian society) of work–family balance.

1 Throughout this paper, the term "work" refers to paid employment.

2 See, for example, MacBride-King & Paris, 1989; Duxbury et al., 1992; Higgins, Duxbury, & Lee, 1993; Duxbury & Higgins, 1998; Duxbury et al., 1999; MacBride-King & Bachman, 1999.

3 Duxbury et al., 1992, p. 16.

4 Peter Drucker (1999) coined the term "knowledge worker" to describe highly skilled employees whose work is complex, cyclical in nature, and involves processing and using information to make decisions.

3. Quantify the costs (to employees, employers, families and Canadian society) of work–family imbalance.

4. Quantify the costs to the Canadian health care system of high levels of work–family conflict.

5. Help employees make the business case for change in this area in their organization.

6. Identify organizational best practices in terms of dealing with work and family issues.

7. Help organizations identify what they need to do to reduce work–family imbalance in their organizations.

8. Help employees and families identify what they can do to reduce work–family imbalance in their lives.

9. Empirically examine how public, private and not-for-profit organizations differ from each other with respect to the work and lifestyle issues identified above.

In other words, this research examines the issues associated with work–life conflict, identifies who is at risk, articulates why key stakeholders (i.e. governments, employers) should care and provides direction on ways to move forward. This research should:

- provide a clearer picture of the extent to which work–family conflict is affecting employees and employers in Canada;
- help organizations appreciate why they need to change how they manage their employees by linking conflict between work and life to the organization's "bottom line;"
- expand the overall knowledge base in this area; and
- suggest appropriate strategies that different types of organizations can implement to help their employees cope with multiple roles and responsibilities.

Theoretical Framework

There is a vast academic literature dealing with the issue of work–life conflict. A complete review of this literature is beyond the purview of this series of reports and counter to our primary objective, which is to get easily understood and relevant information on work–life conflict to key stakeholders (governments, policy makers, employees, employers, unions). That being said, readers who are interested in the theoretical underpinnings of this research are referred to Figure 1. This theoretical framework incorporates both fundamental concepts from the research literature and the key insights we have gained from our 10 years of research in this area. This research is based on the premise that an individual's ability to balance work and life will be associated with both work and non-work demands (i.e. time in and responsibility for various work and non-work roles), as well as a number of key demographic characteristics (i.e. gender, job type, socio-economic status, area of residence, sector). Further, it is hypothesized that an employee's ability to balance work and life demands will be associated with the following outcomes:

- organizational (commitment, intent to turnover, absenteeism, job satisfaction, rating of organization);
- family (family satisfaction, family adaptation, family integration, parenting);
- individual (stress, depressed mood, perceived physical health, burnout, life satisfaction, caregiver strain); and
- societal (use of the health care system).

Finally, it is postulated that these relationships will be moderated by factors associated with both the organization in which the employee works (i.e. work arrangements used, perceived flexibility, work environment, management support, supports and services offered by the organization, ability to refuse overtime), as well as personal strategies that the employee and his or her family use to cope (i.e. works different hours from spouse, delays having children, has a smaller family, the use of various family-based and individual coping strategies).

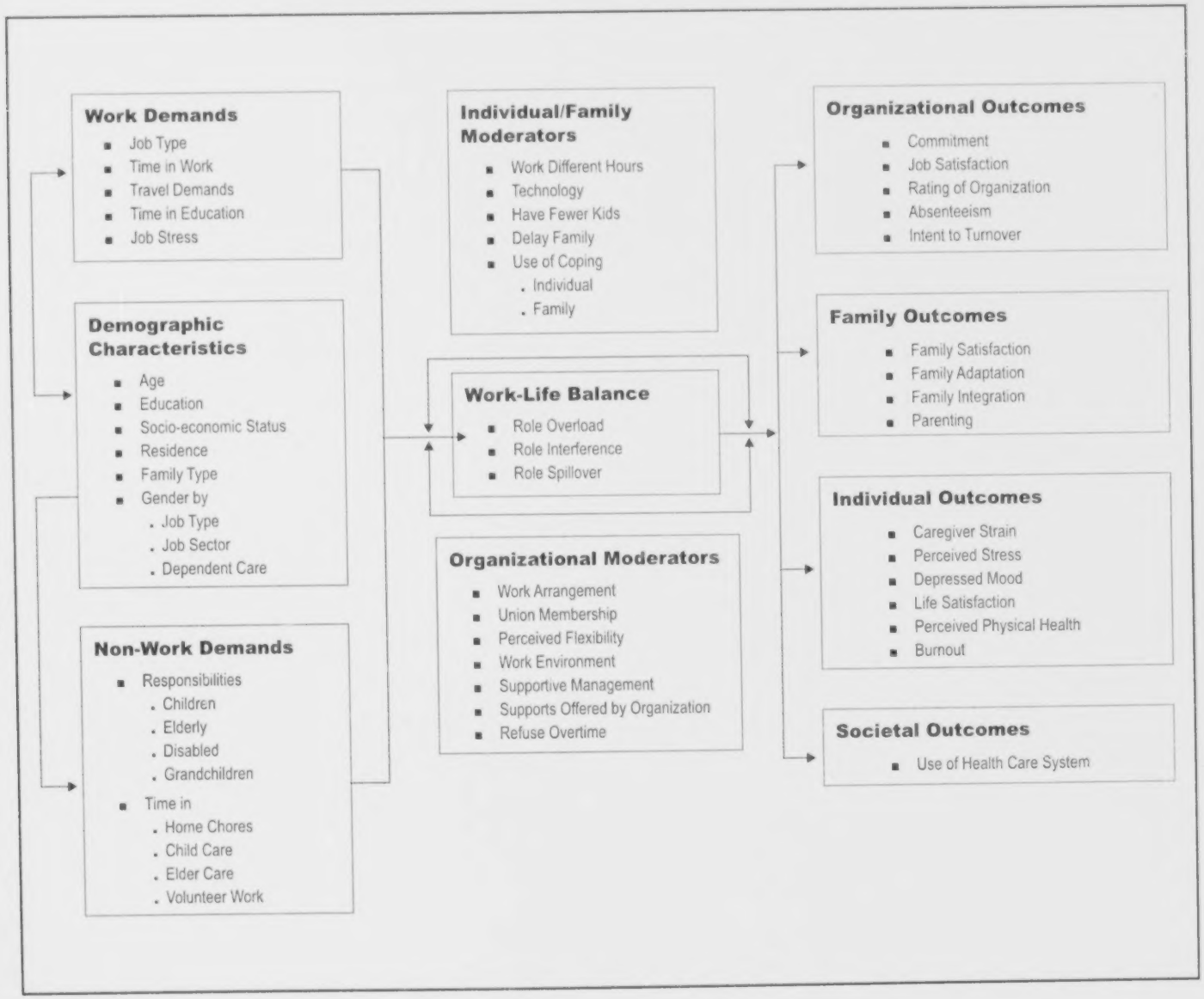


Figure 1: Theoretical Framework

The Report Series

This report is the first one in a series of six. The series has been organized around the research framework shown in Figure 1 and includes the following:

Report One:	The 2001 National Work–Life Conflict Study
Report Two:	Work–Life Conflict in Canada in the New Millennium: A Status Report
Report Three:	Effects of High Work–Life Conflict on the Use of Canada's Health Care System
Report Four:	Who Is at Risk? Predictors of High Work–Life Conflict
Report Five:	Reducing Work–Life Conflict: What Works? What Doesn't?
Report Six:	Work–Life Conflict in Canada in the New Millennium: Key Findings and Recommendations from the 2001 Health Canada Work–Life Conflict Study

Report One puts the series into context by describing the sample of employees who participated in the research and examining the various "risk factors" associated with work–life conflict. Report Two looks at the incidence of four forms of high work–life conflict in 2001 (i.e. role overload, interference from work to family, interference from family to work, and spillover from work to family) and makes the business case for change by looking at how high levels of these various forms of work–life conflict affect employers, employees and their families. It also examines changes in key outcomes over time. Report Three focuses on how high levels of work–life conflict affect the use of Canada's health care system and quantifies the "costs" of imbalance. It is hoped that this analysis will provide further incentives for change in this area. Report Four addresses who is at risk with respect to high levels of work–life conflict while Report Five examines what employers, employees and their families can do to reduce work–life conflict (i.e. looks at the various moderators outlined in Figure 1). Data in Reports Four and Five should be of interest to those who are committed to developing policies and practices to reduce work–life conflict. The final report provides a summary of the key findings and recommendations coming from this research study.

It is hoped that the production of six specialized reports rather than one massive tome will make it easier for the reader to assimilate key findings from this rich and comprehensive research initiative. Each report will be written so that it can be read on its own. Each will begin with an introduction which includes the specific research questions to be answered in the report, a summary of relevant background information and an outline of how the report is organized. This will be followed by a brief outline of the research methodology employed. Key terms will be defined and relevant data presented and analyzed in the main body of the report. Where possible, national data will be referenced to allow the reader to put the findings from this research into context.[5] Each report will end with a conclusion and recommendations chapter that will summarize the key findings, outline the key policy implications and offer key recommendations.

Organization of Report One

Report One is broken down into nine main chapters. Chapter One includes the introduction and research objectives. Chapter Two puts the data into context by outlining the demographic, social and economic forces that impacted work–life conflict in Canada in the 1990s. Details on the methodology used in the study are covered in Chapter Three. Included in this chapter is information on the survey instrument, sample selection, data analysis, between group comparisons and reporting protocols. Material on the demographic characteristics of the sample (i.e. gender, age, marital status, socio-economic status), their dependent care responsibilities (i.e. responsibility for child care, elder care and care of the disabled) and the characteristics of their work (i.e. job type, time in position, union status) are given in Chapters Four, Five and Six, respectively. Data relating to changes in responsibility for child care over time can be found in Chapter Five while changes in the availability of flexible work arrangements are covered in Chapter Six. The work (i.e. time in work, travel demands, overtime) and non-work (time in home chores, child care and volunteer activities) demands faced by the respondents are then described in Chapters Seven (work demands) and Eight (non-work demands). Also included in Chapters Seven and Eight is a discussion of how work and non-work demands may have changed over time. The demands faced by the respondent's family (i.e. total time spent in work and non-work activities by the respondent and his or her partner) are incorporated into Chapters Seven and Eight. Conclusions, policy implications and recommendations are presented in Chapter Nine. Also included in this chapter is a summary of how gender, sector of employment, job type and dependent care status affect employees.

5 The 2001 Census data will not be available until March 2002.

Executive Summary

We all have a number of roles which we hold over the course of our life—spouse, parent, employee, sibling, friend, community member. Work–life[6] conflict occurs when the time and energy demands imposed by all these roles are incompatible, so that participation in one role is made more difficult by participation in another. Work–life conflict has three components: role overload (having too much to do), work to family interference (e.g. long work hours, inflexible work schedules, heavy work demands which limit an employee's ability to participate in family roles and functions), and family interferes with work (family demands such as a sick child or senior prevents attendance at work, ability to stay late at work, travel for one's job, or relocate).

To what extent is work–life conflict a problem in Canada? What progress has been made in this area? The answers to these questions are not clear. One can make the argument that work–life conflict increased throughout the 1990s as:

- a greater percentage of Canadian employees assumed more responsibilities (i.e. the number of working women, dual-earner and single-parent families, sandwich employees and employees who had responsibility for elder care has increased over the past decade); and
- labour market changes during the 1990s (i.e. employers downsized, rightsized and restructured) and technological changes have increased job insecurity, elevated work demands and blurred the boundary between work and family.

Alternatively, one could argue that balance has become less problematic. Proponents of this view contend that organizations have made significant progress with respect to work–life balance due to a greater need to recruit and retain workers, and changing attitudes toward work. Such changes, they argue, have provided a powerful impetus for companies to turn to more flexible, family-friendly workplaces as a means of retaining and energizing key employees and meeting strategic objectives.

In the new millennium, Canadian governments, employers, employees and families face a common challenge—how to make it easier for Canadians to balance their work roles and their desire to have a meaningful life outside of work. Obviously, more needs to be done to advance workplace and government strategies that assist Canadian workers and families (Scott, 2000). This research initiative is a step in this direction.

The overall objectives of this research initiative have been articulated in the foreword to this report. This report has the following general objectives:

1. to provide the reader with relevant background information on the topic of work–life balance;
2. to outline the research methodology employed in the study;
3. to describe the 2001 survey sample; and
4. to examine how key work–life factors such as time in work, time in home chores and child care and responsibility for child care have changed over time.

Specifically, this report answers the following questions:

- Who responded to the 2001 Health Canada work–life survey?
- What kinds of work and non-work demands and responsibilities do these individuals face?
- How has the amount of time spent in paid employment changed over the last decade?
- How has the amount of time spent in non-work activities changed over the last decade?
- How has the use of various alternative work arrangements changed over the last decade?
- Within Canadian families, who assumes primary responsibility for child care and elder care? Has the assumption of responsibility for child care changed over the last decade?
- What impact does gender, job type, dependent care responsibilities and sector of employment have on the types of work and non-work demands and responsibilities faced by Canadian employees?
- To what extent can the results obtained with this sample be generalized to the Canadian population as a whole?

6 Throughout the paper, the term "work" refers to paid employment.

Sample

This study involved a sample of Canadian employees who work for public (federal, provincial and municipal governments), private and not-for-profit (defined in this study to include organizations in the health care and educational sectors) sector organizations. All employees in the sample came from organizations employing 500 or more people.

In total, 100 companies with 500+ employees participated in the study (3.4% of the companies identified in the total sample frame): 40 from the private sector, 22 from the public sector and 38 from the not-for-profit sector. Private-sector companies from the following sectors were included in the sample: telecommunications, high technology, retail, transportation, pharmaceutical, financial services, entertainment, natural resources and manufacturing. The public-sector sample included 7 municipal governments, 7 provincial government departments, and 8 federal public service departments/agencies. The not-for-profit sector sample consisted of 15 hospitals/district health councils, 10 school boards, 8 universities and colleges, and 5 "other" organizations that could best be classified as not-for-profit/greater public service (e.g. social service, charity, protective services).

At the time of data analysis, we had received 31,571 useable responses for a response rate of approximately 26%. This response rate is acceptable given the length of the survey (it took 30 to 60 minutes to complete) and the fact that it was impossible to send out follow-up reminder notices to survey recipients. The sample is distributed as follows:

- Just under half (46%) of the respondents work in the public sector. One in three work in the not-for-profit sector and 20% are employed by a private-sector company.
- Just over half (55%) of the respondents are women.
- Just under half (46%) work in managerial and professional positions, 40% work in non-professional positions (e.g. clerical, administrative, retail, production) and 14% work in technical jobs. The majority of respondents in technical positions are men (67%) while the majority of respondents in non-professional positions are women (73%).
- Just over half (56%) of those in the sample have dependent care responsibilities. The rest (44%) do not.

Demographic Profile of Respondents

The 2001 survey sample is well distributed with respect to age, region, community size, job type, education, personal income, family income, and family's financial well-being. In many ways, the demographic characteristics of the sample correspond to national data, suggesting that the results from this research can be generalized beyond this research. Approximately half of the respondents to the survey can be considered to be highly educated male and female knowledge workers. The majority of respondents are part of a dual-income family and indicate that they are able to "live comfortably" (but not luxuriously) on two full-time incomes. Respondents who belong to a traditional, male breadwinner family are in the minority (5% of total sample, 11% of the sample of men) and outnumbered by respondents who are single parents. The fact that the traditional families tended to be headed by highly paid male managers and professionals suggests that this family arrangement is restricted to those with higher incomes.

The sample includes a substantial number of employees who may be at risk with respect to work–life conflict. The mean age of the respondents to this survey was 42.8 which puts them in the mid-career/fast track stage of the career cycle, the "full-nest" stage of the life cycle and the 40's transition stage of adult development. Each of these stages is associated with increased stress and greater work and family demands. Three quarters of the respondents to this survey are currently married or living with a significant other and 69% are part of a dual-income family. Eleven percent of the respondents are single parents. Twelve percent of the sample live in rural areas. One in three is a clerical and administrative employee with lower levels of formal education (i.e. reduced job mobility) and lower personal and family incomes. One quarter of the respondents indicated that in their family money was tight; 29% of respondents earned less than $40,000 per year and just over one-quarter lived in families with total family incomes that were less than the Canadian average. One in three of the respondents had a high school education or less.

There were a number of interesting demographic and socio-economic differences that were associated with gender. The men in the sample were slightly older than the women, more likely to hold managerial and technical positions, more likely to be married (especially the men in managerial and professional positions and the men with dependent care responsibilities), more likely to have a university education, and more likely to earn more than $60,000 per year. The women in the sample, on the other hand, were more likely to work in clerical and administrative positions and to earn less than $40,000 per year. Several pieces of data, including the fact that the

women in our sample in managerial, professional and technical positions were more highly educated than their male counterparts, and the fact that the women in our sample earned less than the men even when education was controlled for, suggest that women who work for large firms have yet to achieve full equality with men at work.

The data also indicate that there is a strong association between socio-economic status and job type. Respondents in non-professional positions were more likely to have a high school education or less, receive lower financial remuneration and say that, in their family, "money is tight." The men and women in managerial and professional positions, on the other hand, were more likely to have a university education, be in families that earned $100,000 or more a year and say that, in their family, "money was not an issue." The men and women in technical positions were more likely to have a college degree. Their personal and family incomes were very similar to those in non-professional positions.

Finally, respondents with dependent care responsibilities differed in a number of interesting ways from those without dependent care responsibilities. Many of these differences were linked to gender. Respondents with dependent care were, on average, two years older. They were more likely to say that within their family "money is tight," although their family incomes were essentially the same as those without dependent care responsibilities. Men with dependent care responsibilities were more likely than women with dependent care responsibilities to be married. Women without dependent care responsibilities had more formal education (45% with university education) than the women with dependent care responsibilities (35% with university). No such difference was observed in the male sample. These findings suggest the following:

- dependent care increases financial strains within families, and
- professional women in Canada are delaying having children in order to focus their attention on their careers.

Dependent Care Responsibilities of the Respondents

The majority of employees in the sample have responsibilities outside of work. Seventy percent are parents (average number of children for parents in the sample is 2.1); 60% have elder care (average number of elderly dependents is 2.3); 13% have responsibility for the care of a disabled relative; 13% have both child care and elder care demands (i.e. are part of the "sandwich generation"). The fact that these data on non-work demands correspond closely to national data provided by Statistics Canada and the Vanier Institute suggest that the findings from this study can be generalized to all Canadians working for large firms.

Dependent care responsibilities do not depend on either job type or sector. They do, however, vary considerably by gender. The men in the sample were more likely to have children than the women (77% of men are fathers while 65% of women are mothers). Closer examination of the data shows that this gender difference in parental status is due to the fact that the women in professional and technical positions in this sample were less likely to have children than their counterparts in non-professional positions. No such difference was observed with respect to the men in the sample. In fact, just the opposite—the men in professional and technical positions were more likely to have children than their non-professional counterparts. Why are professional women less likely to have children? The data would suggest that motherhood and career advancement are not perceived by many of the professional women in the sample to be compatible goals. Just under half of the managerial and professional women in the sample agree that they had not yet started a family because of their career, and that they have had fewer children because of the demands of their work.

While it is tempting to conclude from these data that professional women need their organizations to be more sensitive to and supportive of work–life balance, the data suggest that changes also need to occur at home. For example, responsibility for child care is not associated with job type. The majority of men and women in both the 1991 and 2001 samples agree that in their family the female partner has the primary responsibility for child care. The majority of men and women in our sample who were part of a dual-career family (i.e. the wife held a professional position) also held this view. In other words, professional men who are married to professional women are no more likely to assume additional responsibilities at home than men who are married to women in less demanding jobs. Greater sharing of child-rearing responsibilities at home would, perhaps, reduce the need for professional women to have to choose between a career and becoming a mother.

While child care still appears to be considered by many men to be "woman's work," the data would suggest that they are less likely to hold this view with respect to elder care. While the majority of female respondents felt that they had the primary responsibility for elder care, they were much more likely to acknowledge that in their family elder care was shared or their partner's responsibility than they were to feel this way about child care. The men in the sample were also more likely to feel that elder care, as compared to child care, was shared.

Characteristics of Work

What do we know about the work environments of those who responded to the survey (and by extension the work environments of Canadians who work for larger organizations)? Half belong to unions. One in three supervises the work of others. The demands associated with supervision are substantial as the typical supervisor has a very wide span of control (an average of 20 direct reports). This span of control is significantly higher than was observed in the 1991 sample (an average of 6 direct reports), a finding that is consistent with the fact that many organizations shed layers of management as part of their downsizing and restructuring initiatives. These data suggest that one consequence of this strategy is an increased workload for the supervisor that "survived."

Despite the turbulence of the 1990s, the data from the 2001 survey would suggest that most Canadian employees make a long-term commitment to their employers; the average respondent has been working at his or her current organization for an average of 13.9 years. Unfortunately, the data would also suggest that the rhetoric about the importance of continuous learning and career development has not translated into concrete actions in these areas as the average 2001 respondent has been in his or her current job for an average of 7.3 years. These data would suggest that Canada's largest employers need to do more with respect to career development.

The survey data also suggest that employers' sensitivity to work–family issues continues to lag behind the emergence of these concerns as an issue for employees. The majority of employees in the Canadian workforce are members of dual-income families with dependent care responsibilities (child care, elder care, or both). As such, they require a diversity of work schedules. Unfortunately, the data indicate that the majority of Canadians in both the 1991 and 2001 samples work "regular" hours (i.e. little to no formal flexibility with respect to arrival and departure times, no work location flexibility). The percentage of respondents using the most desired "family-friendly" flexible work arrangements (flextime and telework) has not changed over the decade and remains relatively low (approximately 20% work flextime and 1% telework). In fact, for many Canadian employees work schedules may have deteriorated over the decade as the percentage of the workforce who use work schedules known to increase work–life conflict and stress (i.e. rotating shifts, fixed shifts, atypical work arrangements) has increased.

The data also indicate that access to flexible work arrangements is not evenly distributed throughout the workforce. Further examination of the data indicates that those employees who have the greatest need for flexible work arrangements (i.e. parents and employees with elder care responsibilities) do not have access to them. This would suggest that despite all the talk about "family friendly" and "employer of choice," the myth of separate worlds still appears to be the operating principle in many of Canada's largest employers.

It is also interesting to note that while few respondents formally telework, 12% engage in guerilla telework (i.e. informal work at home). This would suggest that work at home is possible (i.e. work can be done outside of the regular office environment) and that employees do want to use such arrangements. These findings suggest that barriers to telework exist at the organizational level. Private-sector employees and employees without dependent care responsibilities are more likely to perform guerilla telework. The latter finding is interesting in that it refutes the perception that employees work at home so they do not have to arrange child care.

Finally, it is interesting to note that one in three respondents arranges their work schedule so that they and their partner can share child care (i.e. work a different shift from their partner so that they do not need to arrange any kind of child care). This strategy, typically referred to as "off shifting," is a strategy that is primarily used by men in managerial and professional positions with dependent care responsibilities to help them balance competing work and family demands. While such arrangements may be beneficial to children, how they affect marriages and work–life conflict is still largely unknown.

Work Demands

The data are unequivocal—a substantial proportion of Canadians who work for large employers regularly engage in overtime work. The following key observations can be drawn from the data on overtime:

- employees are more likely to work unpaid overtime than paid overtime;
- the amount of time per month spent performing supplemental work at home and unpaid overtime is considerable and greater than the amount of time spent in paid overtime;
- employees donate a significant proportion of unpaid time to their employer (approximately five days per month);
- while the types of employees performing paid and unpaid overtime are slightly different (managers and professionals are more likely to perform unpaid overtime while non-professionals are more likely to perform paid overtime), a substantial proportion of

all employees in the various job types considered in this analysis work paid and unpaid overtime;

- many employees feel that they cannot say "no" to overtime work (i.e. have low control over work time);
- overtime demands appear to be the most onerous in the not-for-profit sector;
- men appear to have more pressures with respect to the performance of both paid and unpaid overtime than women, suggesting that there are still gender differences with respect to what companies expect from their employees/the demands employees place on themselves; and
- the use of unpaid overtime has increased substantially over the decade.

Work demands have increased over time

Comparisons done using the 1991 and 2001 samples suggest that time in work has increased over the decade. Whereas one in ten respondents in 1991 worked 50 or more hours per week, one in four does so now; during this same time period, the proportion of employees working between 35 and 39 hours per week declined from 48% of the sample to 27%. This increase in time in work was observed for all job groups and all sectors.

The trends observed with respect to time in work and overtime work suggest that it has become more difficult over the past decade for Canadian employees (especially those working in managerial and professional positions) to meet work expectations during regular hours. It would appear that employees who work for larger organizations have attempted to cope with these increased demands by working longer hours and taking work home. Further work is needed to determine why work demands have increased over the decade. Competing explanations drawn from the data include:

- organizational anorexia (downsizing—especially of the middle manager cadre—has meant that there are not enough employees to do the work and managers to strategize and plan);
- corporate culture (if you don't work long hours and take work home, you will not advance in your career, not keep your job during downsizing);
- increased use of technology (data collected elsewhere in the survey provide partial support for this supposition);
- global competition (work hours have been extended to allow work across time zones, increased competition and a desire to keep costs down has limited the number of employees it is deemed feasible to hire);
- the speed of change has increased to the point where many organizations have lost their ability to plan and prioritize—workloads increase when organizations practise crisis management (partial support for this hypothesis comes from data collected elsewhere in the survey);
- employees are worried about the consequences of "not being seen to be a contributor";
  - non-professionals may fear that they will lose their jobs if they do not work overtime, and
  - professionals may worry that their career will stagnate if they do not work overtime.

Finally, it should be noted that the link between hours in work and role overload, work–life conflict, burnout and physical and mental health problems suggest that these work loads are not sustainable over the long term.

Work requirements (especially with respect to travel and overtime) do not support balance

The data indicate that the "myth of separate worlds" still operates in Canada's largest employers. The expectation that an employee will spend both weekday and weekend nights away from home if their job requires it appears to be quite prevalent and many employees feel that they cannot refuse overtime work. Just over one in three respondents work in jobs that require them to spend an average of 3.1 weeknights a month away from home. One in three holds jobs that call for them to spend one quarter of their weekend nights away from home. Another third have jobs that compel them to spend approximately two days per month on the road commuting to other work sites. Finally, one in six respondents said that he or she could not refuse to work overtime if asked. An additional 37% of respondents indicated that they could only refuse overtime "sometimes."

Who has the heaviest work demands?

The findings from this study would suggest the following groups: men, managers and professionals, and employees who work in the not-for-profit sector. The data presented in this section unequivocally support the idea that men have heavier work demands than women. Men (regardless of sector, job type or dependent care status) spend more hours per week in paid employment than women (44.1 hours versus 40.6), are more likely to work paid overtime (34% versus 28%), unpaid overtime (55% versus 45%) and do supplemental work at home (58% versus 43%). They also spend more hours per month, on average, in paid overtime (12 hours versus 10 hours) and unpaid

overtime (20 hours per month versus 14 hours). Men also have heavier travel demands (more likely to have to spend weekdays and weekends away).

Managers and professionals of both genders also had markedly higher work demands. They spend more time per week in work, have heavier travel demands (more likely to spend weekday and weekend nights away from home) and dedicate more time to unpaid overtime and supplemental work at home. It should be noted that male managers and professionals had particularly heavy workloads. The fact that managers and professionals (regardless of gender) were less likely than those in technical or non-professional positions to work paid overtime is likely due to the fact that companies have different expectations of their professional personnel with respect to the time they should contribute to work.

It is also interesting to note that men and women in the not-for-profit sector sample had particularly onerous work loads. The men in the not-for-profit sector sample were shown to have the heaviest burdens with respect to paid overtime. The women in this sector were more likely to feel that they could not refuse overtime. Both men and women in this sector were more likely to engage in supplemental work at home, work unpaid overtime and travel on the weekends. They also "donated" the most time to their employer. The heavy workloads in this sector are consistent with the budget cuts and downsizing initiatives experienced within both the education and health care fields in the last few years (i.e. fewer bodies to do the same amount of work). It should also be noted that private-sector employees also spend a high number of hours per week in paid employment. The travel and overtime demands reported by those in the private sector are, however, lower.

Despite the fact that they have heavier demands and more responsibilities outside of work, employees with dependent care commitments spend the same amount of time in work each week as their counterparts without dependent care. These data suggest that men and women who have dependent care responsibilities have more demands on their time than those without such obligations (i.e. time in work is the same but time spent in non-work activities is higher). Men with dependent care responsibilities have greater work demands than their female counterparts; they invest more time in paid work per week and spend more weeknights away from home than women with dependent care responsibilities. This greater investment in work may give men an advantage with respect to career advancement.

It is also interesting to note that employees with dependent care responsibilities are more likely to perform supplemental work at home. Future analysis of the data will determine if this strategy is an effective way for parents and those with elder care responsibilities to cope with increased work demands or if it is associated with increased work–life conflict.

Family Demands

The employees who answered our survey spent approximately 17 hours a week in non-work-related activities—a significantly lower amount of time than they spent in paid employment. Time in non-work activities is not associated with sector. It is, however, linked to gender, dependent care status and job type.

The women in our sample spent 12.2 hours in home chores per week—a higher number of hours than spent by the men in the sample (10.1 hours per week). The men in the sample, on the other hand, spent more time per week in leisure (9.6 hours per week) than the women (8.5 hours per week). While the men were also more likely than the women to engage in volunteer activities (43% of the men in the sample volunteered versus 34% of the women), the amount of time spent in volunteer activities (3.7 hours per week) was not associated with gender.

The data are unequivocal—employees with dependent care responsibilities have more demands on their time than their counterparts without child care or elder care. They spent more than twice as much time in non-work activities as those without dependent care status (23 hours versus 10 hours) and approximately 3 hours less per week in leisure. Families with dependent care responsibilities devote approximately 110 hours per week to work and non-work activities—a substantially greater time commitment than observed in families without dependent care responsibilities (90 hours per week). In this sample, child care could be seen to generate heavier time demands than elder care. Respondents with elder care responsibilities spent approximately 5.3 hours helping their elderly relative; parents spent approximately 10.8 hours per week in child care.

A key finding from this research is that the role of "caregiver" is not as strongly associated with gender as it was in the past. Traditionally, research in this area has determined that women spend more time in child care than men. Such was not the case in this study, as mothers and fathers who engaged in child care spent essentially the same amount of time each week in child care-related activities (the typical mother in the sample spent approximately 11.1 hours per week in child care while the typical father spent approximately 10.5 hours). Similarly, the men and the women in the sample with elder care responsibilities spent approximately the same amount of time per week in elder care activities (the typical man with

elder care responsibilities spent 4.6 hours per week in their care while the typical women spent approximately 5.2 hours).

These data would suggest that women's entry into the paid labour force has had a measurable impact on the division of family labour within the home. The fact that we did not observe large gender differences with respect to the amount of time devoted to child care may be attributed to the fact that time for family-related activities has declined as time in work has increased (after all, there are only 24 hours in a day!). A comparison of the 1991 and 2001 data sets provides support for this conclusion. These data indicate that while both genders are now spending less time in family activities than previously, the decline in time spent in child care has been more precipitous for women (dropped by 33% over the decade) than for men (dropped 15%). Competing explanations for these findings include the following:

- mothers have reallocated their time because they are working outside the home;
- smaller families have reduced the number of years with very young children;
- more pre-school children, regardless of their mother's employment status, spend time outside the home in day care and play groups;
- men have become more involved in child rearing; and
- technology (i.e. cell phones, beepers) has made it possible for parents to be "on call" without being physically present in the home.

In other words, the gender difference in time spent in child care has diminished as women spend less time in child care, men spend more and the need to spend high amounts of time in child care is reduced (see Bianchi (2000) for an excellent discussion of this phenomenon).

The data can also be interpreted to mean that in many Canadian families men and women are now equal partners with respect to the amount of time they devote to child care. This interpretation of the data is supported by the fact that 44% of the men and 33% of the women in the sample perceive that responsibility for child care is equally shared in their family. Follow-up research is needed to explore this issue in more detail (i.e. is this an artifact of this study and how the data were collected or does it reflect a new reality for some Canadian families; are the types of child care and elder care tasks done within the family linked to gender even if time in tasks is not).

It should also be noted that this "enlightened" attitude with respect to the distribution of "family labour" does not extend to home chores. The women in the sample spent substantially more time in home chores per week than the men, regardless of sector, job type or dependent care status. This finding would suggest that in many Canadian families home chores are still perceived by many to be "women's work."

Finally, it is interesting to note that the women in managerial and professional positions in our sample spend more time in child care per week (11.5 hours) than women in other types of jobs, or their male counterparts in managerial and professional positions. They are also in families which devote more hours per week to work and non-work activities (106 hours per week). These data would suggest that many professional women in Canada have bought into the concept of "supermom" and place very high demands on themselves with respect to both work and family.

What Can Employers Do?

The data offer the following suggestions for employers who wish to help their employees balance work and family. Employers need to:

1. identify ways of reducing employee workloads (this is especially true for not-for-profit sector employers). Special attention needs to be given to reducing the workloads of managers and professionals in all sectors;
2. identify ways to reduce the amount of time employees spend in job-related travel;
3. recognize and reward overtime work;
4. reduce their reliance on both paid and unpaid overtime;
5. give employees the opportunity to say "no" when asked to work overtime. Saying "no" should not be a career-limiting move;
6. make alternative work arrangements more widely available within their organization;
7. look at career development and career advancement opportunities through a "work–life" lens. Employees should not have to choose between having a family and career advancement; and
8. examine work expectations, rewards and benefits through a "life-cycle" lens (i.e. what employees are able to do/motivated to do and what rewards and benefits they desire will change with life-cycle stage).

What Can Employees Do?

Employees should:

9. say "no" to overtime hours if work expectations are unreasonable;

10. try to limit the amount of work they take home to complete in the evenings. If they do work at home, they should make every effort to separate time in work from family time (i.e. do work after the children go to bed, have a home office);

11. try to reduce the amount of time they spend in job-related travel; and

12. take advantage of the flexible work arrangements available in their organization.

What Can Governments Do?

Governments (federal, provincial and municipal) need to:

13. take the lead with respect to the issue of child care. In particular, they need to determine how to best help employed Canadians deal with child care issues (i.e. develop appropriate policies for parents of children of various ages, identify and implement relevant supports);

14. take the lead with respect to the issue of elder care. In particular, they need to determine how to best help employed Canadians deal with elder care issues (i.e. develop appropriate policies, identify and implement relevant supports);

15. "lead by example" with respect to the availability and accessibility of flexible work arrangements (i.e. it is not enough just to offer a wide variety of alternative work arrangements, employees must feel that they can use such arrangements without penalty);

16. investigate ways to increase Canadians' awareness of how social roles and responsibilities have changed over the past several decades, what changes still need to happen, and why (i.e. social marketing campaign, education programs in schools, advertisements); and

17. examine how they can reduce the 'financial penalties" associated with parenthood (i.e. determine how to concretely recognize that this group of employees has higher costs).

Chapter 1
Introduction

Historically, work and family life have been treated as mutually exclusive domains, segregated both by geography and by gender. Organizations have had little reason to be concerned with an employee's family or personal situation or the negative consequences of work–life conflict on their employees or on the organization.. Ambitious employees worked long hours and were easily relocatable for the right opportunity within the organization. Family duties, such as child care, cooking and housework, were the domain of the employee's wife and not a concern for the organization.

Dramatic demographic, social and economic changes of the past few decades have, however, led to what has aptly been described as a work and lifestyle "revolution" (Vanderkolk & Young, 1991). There are now more: (1) dual-income families, (2) working heads of single-parent families, (3) working women of all ages, (4) working mothers, particularly mothers of young children, (5) men with direct responsibility for family care, (6) workers caring for elderly parents or relatives, and (7) workers in the sandwich generation with responsibility for both child care and elder care. The workforce of today is also older and more ethnically diverse than in the past.

These substantial changes in the composition of the Canadian workforce are creating a new emphasis on the balance between work and family life as employees of both sexes are now coping with caregiving and household responsibilities that were once managed by a stay-at-home spouse. Such employees are not well served by traditional "one-size fits all" human resource policies which can impose rigid time and place constraints on employees or reward long work hours at the expense of personal time. Clearly, the old model of coordinating work and family, which assumes that one's work role is separate from (and takes precedence over) one's family role (referred to by Kanter (1977) as the "myth of separate worlds") is no longer valid for the majority of the Canadian labour force. Employees in families where both partners work no longer have the option of a gendered division of labour among partners when it comes to the organization of work and family. Women are increasingly being forced to deal with job-related demands which place limits on the performance of their family role. Men are becoming more involved with their family and are experiencing a shift in their priorities away from work. The new reality has had a marked effect on what is required of each family member and on what employers can expect from employees. As the U.S. Bureau of National Affairs notes:

> "Caring for elder parents, children or both is not new. Combining it with a career is" (BNA, 1988, p. 7).

Unfortunately, despite the media attention accorded this issue and the prevalence of the problem,[7] many employed mothers and fathers have had to cope with the mounting stress of balancing work and family demands in the absence of outside aid and support. As in most transition periods, changing behaviours often outpace social and organizational structures. Such is the case for today's working parents and caregivers of the elderly who have experienced the burden of both working and caring for dependents in a world that has been largely unresponsive to their realities.

The evidence suggests that both governments and employers have been slow to respond to the changing social and economic pressures on Canadian employees and their families (Scott, 2000). In the absence of supportive government policies and organizational practices, families have struggled to accommodate job demands at the expense of their family role obligations and their own well-being. The result has been an increase in work–life conflict and stress (Scott, 2000).

Difficulties associated with balancing work and family responsibilities have been compounded by a diffusion of responsibility in which each part of the system believes that it is someone else's problem. Management often holds the view that it is a worker's problem, men think it is a women's issue, and older parents and/or non-parents believe it is a concern for younger parents. Workplaces have tended to act as if wives were still at home managing the multiple roles of homemaking and child rearing. Governments, as legislators and policy makers, have

7 A large number of studies over the last decade have found that many Canadians have difficulties balancing work and family (MacBride-King, 1990; Duxbury et al., 1992; Higgins, Duxbury, & Lee, 1993; Lero et al., 1993; Akyeampong, 1997; Johnson et al., 1997; Duxbury and Higgins, 1998; Duxbury et al., 1999; MacBride-King and Bachman, 1999).

reacted cautiously to the changing workplace. A study done by the U.S. government over a decade ago, for example, noted that:

> "Many politicians have talked a lot about family but few have made the crucial issues, child care, job security, family leave, flexibility, a legislative priority" (BNA, 1989, p. 5).

At the beginning of the new millennium, Canadian governments, employers, employees and families face a common challenge—how to make it easier for Canadians to balance their work roles and their desire to have a meaningful life outside of work. Obviously, more needs to be done to advance workplace and government strategies that assist Canadian workers and families (Scott, 2000). This research initiative is, hopefully, a step in this direction.

1.1 Research Objectives of Report One

The overall objectives of this research initiative have been articulated in the foreword to this report. Report One has the following general objectives:

1. to provide the reader with relevant background information on the topic of work–life conflict,
2. to outline the research methodology employed in the study,
3. to describe the 2001 survey sample, and
4. to examine how key work–life factors such as time in work, time in home chores and child care and responsibility for child and elder care have changed over time (overall research objective one).

Specifically, this report provides answers to the following questions:

- Who responded to the 2001 Health Canada work–life survey?
- What kinds of work and non-work demands and responsibilities do these individuals face?
- How has the amount of time spent in paid employment changed over the last decade?
- How has the amount of time spent in non-work activities changed over the last decade?
- How has the use of various alternative work arrangements changed over the last decade?
- Within Canadian families, who assumes primary responsibility for child care and elder care? Has the assumption of responsibility for child care changed over the last decade?
- What impact does gender, job type, dependent care responsibilities and sector of employment have on the types of work and non-work demands and responsibilities faced by Canadian employees?
- To what extent can the results obtained with this sample be generalized to the Canadian population as a whole?

Chapter 2

Setting the Stage: Work–Life Conflict in Canada Throughout the 1990s

This chapter of the report puts the research into context. Relevant definitions are given first. This is followed by a discussion of why work–life conflict is an issue for Canada and Canadians at this time. The following reasons for focusing on work–life conflict are explored:

- demographic, social and economic changes that occurred throughout the 1990s increased the percentage of the Canadian working population at risk of high work–life conflict; and
- recruitment and retention of knowledge workers is linked with an organization's ability to be "best practice" with respect to work–life balance.

2.1 What Is Work[8]–Life Conflict?

We all play many roles: employee, boss, subordinate, spouse, parent, child, sibling, friend and community member. Each of these roles imposes demands on us which require time, energy and commitment to fulfil. Work–family or work–life conflict[9] occurs when the cumulative demands of these many work and non-work roles are incompatible in some respect so that participation in one role is made more difficult by participation in the other role.[10]

Research has been conducted in the area of work–life conflict for several decades. The research paradigm has, however, shifted over time from:

- a preoccupation with the separate worlds of work and family (1970s); to
- research which focused on how experiences at work (both positive and negative) spill over into the family domain and vice versa (1980s); to
- research exploring the interaction and interconnectedness of the work, family and community domains (Scott, 2000).

At the present time, work–life conflict is conceptualized to include:

- role overload: having too much to do and too little time to do it in;
- family to work interference: family-role responsibilities hinder performance at work (e.g. a child's illness prevents attendance at work, conflict at home makes concentration at work difficult); and
- work to family interference: work responsibilities and demands make it harder for an employee to fulfil his or her family responsibilities (e.g. long hours in paid work prevent attendance at a child's sporting event, preoccupation with the work role prevents an active enjoyment of family life, work stresses spill over into the home environment and increase conflict with the family).

In this sense, work–life conflict can be seen to have two major components: the practical aspects associated with time crunches and scheduling conflicts and the perceptual aspect of feeling overwhelmed, overloaded or stressed by the pressures of multiple roles.

2.2 Why Is Work–Life Conflict an Issue in Canada at This Time?

The Canadian labour market throughout the 1990s could best be described as "tight." The dominant management strategy employed during this period was one of cost cutting rather than people development, and as a nation Canadians were fixated on the economy and securing and keeping jobs rather than achieving balance. The decade was one of tremendous change as employees confronted the following challenges:

8 Throughout this paper, the term "work" refers to paid employment.

9 In the 1970s through to the early 1990s, researchers studied work–family conflict. In the later part of the 1990s, the term was changed to "work–life" conflict in recognition of the fact that employees' non-work responsibilities can take many forms, including volunteer pursuits and education, as well as the care of children or elderly dependents.

10 We sometimes use the term "work–life balance" in this report to mean the opposite of work–life conflict. This reflects the fact that the concept of conflict and balance is frequently viewed as a continuum. Employees with low work–life conflict/high work–life balance are at one end of the continuum while those with high work–life conflict/low work–life balance are at the other.

- a reshaping of the workforce (more women, more cultural diversity, aging of the baby boomers);
- a recession (early 1990s) followed by a "jobless recovery;"
- government cutbacks and a diminished social safety net;
- high unemployment rates;
- a greater need for both parents in a family to work to maintain a "decent" standard of living;
- a degradation in the quality of jobs and an increase in non-standard work;
- increased automation of work processes; and
- changing expectations around hours of work.

While these changes demand that both employees and managers think and behave in new ways, they also present opportunities for forward-thinking employers and governments to do things differently.

The following sections provide a brief overview of three forces that have influenced work–life conflict in the 1990s: demographic/societal forces, economic forces, and the need to be seen as a "best practice" organization.

2.2.1 Demographic/Societal Forces

The Percentage of the Population at Risk of High Work–Life Conflict Has increased

The face of the Canadian workforce has changed dramatically over the past several decades. The key demographic and social changes which have been linked in the literature to increased work–life conflict are reviewed below.

More Women in the Canadian Labour Force

The story of work–life conflict and stress cannot be told without mentioning the growing involvement of Canadian women in the paid labour force and the accompanying shift toward the dual-income family. Between 1977 and 1996, women's labour force participation rate increased from 43% to 57%. In 1998, 58% of women over the age of 25 worked for pay outside the home (Statistics Canada, January, 1999). In 1998, women comprised 45% of Canada's total labour force.

More Mothers in the Canadian Labour Force

For women with children (especially young children), the growth in labour force participation rates has been even more dramatic. Between 1976 and 1998, labour force participation rates for mothers with children under age 3 doubled from 32% to 64% (Vanier Institute, 2000). During the same time period, the participation rate of women with a youngest child aged 6 to 15 increased from 50% to 72%. In 1998, two thirds of Canadian mothers of young children (i.e. at least one under 6) were in the paid labour force (Scott, 2000).

Women's Employment Patterns Have Become Like Men's

Recent data would suggest that in Canada, women's patterns of employment are becoming like those of men (Fast and de Pont, 1997). Traditionally, Canadian women left the workforce once they started their families. In the 1990s, this was no longer true as the majority of women (55%) returned to work within two years of giving birth (Scott, 2000).

Changing Family Patterns: More Dual-Income Families

At the beginning of the new millennium, the dual-income family has replaced the traditional male breadwinner/homemaker wife as the prototypical Canadian family type and both husband and wife work for pay outside the home in seven out of ten Canadian families (up from one in three in 1967) (Statistics Canada, 1997d).

Changing Family Patterns: Fewer "Stay-at-Home" Moms

The percentage of families with one parent who stays out of the labour force in order to care for children has declined dramatically over the past decades. In 1976, almost 3 million mothers stayed home to care for their children. This number had declined to 1.1 million mothers by 1997 (Statistics Canada, 2000).

Changing Family Patterns: More Single-Parent Families

Lone-parent households also became more prevalent in the 1990s. In 1996, the number of lone-parent families in Canada reached 1.1 million, up 19% from 1991 and 33% from 1986 (Statistics Canada, 1997e). Although these figures include both male- and female-headed households, lone parenthood is largely the domain of women. In 1996, lone-parent families headed by women outnumbered those headed by men by more than four to one (Johnson et al., 2001). Employed lone parents face considerable challenges in terms of balancing their work and home lives. Many cope with the combined demands of paid work and domestic responsibilities without the assistance and emotional support of a partner. Some have the additional burden of financial stress (Statistics Canada, 1997e).

Canadian Fathers Spending More Time in "Family" Labour but ....

Although Statistics Canada only began to include unpaid labour in the 1996 Census, the data which are available suggest that in the 1980s/1990s men (particularly husbands and lone fathers) spent more time in unpaid work activities such as housework, child and elder care than a decade ago (Vanier Institute, 2000). The movement of women into the Canadian workforce has not, however, resulted in sweeping changes in family roles. For many families, a woman's paid employment is still viewed as secondary to her unpaid caring work, particularly when the woman's earnings are less than those of her spouse (Scott, 2000). Available research (see Hochsfield, 1989) would suggest that women's paid employment has led to the expansion of women's roles (i.e. the second shift) rather than a redefinition of gender roles:

> "... men have a long way to go before they catch up with their wives who still do by far the greatest share of housekeeping, even when they are also working in the paid labour force" (Vanier Institute, 2000, p. 144).

More Canadian Employees Have Elderly Dependents

Canada's population is aging, influenced largely by the baby boom of the 1950s and early 1960s and the baby bust of the late 1960s and early 1970s (Foot, 1996). A continuing low rate of fertility has resulted in an age distribution characterized by an over-representation of people in their prime working years and a diminishing pool of young adults aged 15 to 24 (Statistics Canada, 1997a). It has been estimated that by 2021, 17.8% of the Canadian population will be over 65 years of age (Health Canada, 2001).

The aging of the Canadian population has a number of implications for the country, not the least of which is a greater proportion of Canadian employees responsible for the care of elderly dependents. The 1996 Census found that 15% of Canadians provided some care to seniors (Scott, 2000) and the Vanier Institute (1997) noted that 66% of seniors over the age of 75 relied on family members for help with housework, cooking and personal care. A recent report by Statistics Canada (1999) dedicated to the topic of elder care noted that in 1996, about 2.1 million Canadians looked after older family members or friends. Elder caregivers (both male and female) were, on average, in their mid-40s. The majority (over 2/3) were in the paid workforce.

The Percentage of Canadians Who Are Part of the Sandwich Generation Has Increased

It has been predicted that work–life conflict will become more problematic over the next decade as "baby boom" and "baby bust" generations assume responsibility for both dependent children and aging parents (Scott, 2000). Employees with these dual demands have become known as the "sandwich generation" and typically experience extraordinary challenges balancing work and family demands (Vanier Institute, 1994). It has been estimated that one in four Canadians is part of the sandwich generation (Duxbury and Higgins, 1998). Johnson et al. (2001) reported that in 1996, 16% of women aged 25 to 54 and 9% of men in this age group provided unpaid child and senior care. Research by the Canadian Council for Social Development suggests that the number of employees who are in the sandwich generation will increase over the next decade as Canadians delay family formation and childbirth (CCSD, 1996).

Smaller Families Mean Each Family Member Has Heavier Demands

Declining fertility rates mean that Canadian families are smaller today than they were 30 years ago. The average family size in 1995 was 3.01, down from 3.67 in 1971 (CCSD, 1996). The 1996 Census reported that the average number of children per family living at home in 1996 was 1.2 (Statistics Canada, 2000). These data, taken to their logical conclusion, suggest that within the next few decades children will be required to provide support for a larger number of elderly family members.

Caring from a Distance Increases Work–Life Conflict

The challenges associated with caring for one's parents have also increased in complexity due to the fact that over the past couple of decades Canadians have become more mobile and many now live miles away from other family members and friends. In 1995, approximately 44% of Canadians lived 100 km or more from their parents (General Social Survey, quoted in Scott, 2000).

Family Incomes Have Declined

Between 1991 and 1996, real disposable income per head declined by 0.7% per year (CLMPC, 1997). Average family income also declined during the first half of the 1990s. In 1990, the average family income in Canada was $57,300 (in 1995 dollars). By 1995, this had dropped to $54,600, a decline of 5% (Rashid, 1998).

Woman's Income Is Now More Important to the Financial Security of the Household

Women's incomes are more important than ever to the financial security of Canadian households. In nearly half of all Canadian families, a woman's earnings make up 25% to 49% of the family's income. In one out of every four families, a woman's income contributed at least half of the total family income (Vanier Institute, 1997). Without these earnings, the low-income rate among dual-income families would have more than tripled in 1996 (Statistics Canada, October, 1998).

2.2.2 Economic Forces

The literature also suggests a number of economic factors that may have contributed to an increase in work–life conflict for Canadian employees. These factors are discussed below.

Unemployment Due to Downsizing and Restructuring Increased

At the outset of the 1990s, the Canadian business climate was battered by a combination of factors that produced record high levels of bankruptcies, declining employment and rising unemployment. Factors that had a negative effect on the economy included high interest rates, a high exchange rate for the Canadian dollar vis-a-vis the U.S. dollar, the introduction of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and the slowdown in the U.S. economy (Stone and Meltz, 1993).

These changes in the Canadian economy and the need to compete globally led many Canadian organizations (public, private and not-for-profit) to downsize and rightsize aggressively throughout the late 1980s/1990s. Organizational flexibility was pursued at the expense of employee flexibility (Scott, 2000). During this time period layoffs burgeoned. The unemployment rate was high during most of the decade. Only recently has it dropped to pre-1989 levels (Scott, 2000). The Vanier Institute (1997) reported that in 1994 alone, one in four Canadian families experienced a period of unemployment for at least one family member.

Many organizations that downsize and restructure "compact" work. They do more with less and demand more from the fewer employees that have "survived" these initiatives. Working longer and harder has become the norm for many "survivors." As Arthur Donner (1999) notes:

> "Companies are making poor trade-offs. They are burning out their workers. The current distribution of working hours is dysfunctional for families and individuals."

Such practices are associated with declines in employee morale, job security and job satisfaction, and increases in employee stress and work–life conflict.

Growth in Non-Standard Forms of Work

Concomitant with the restructuring and downsizing that occurred in Canada in the 1980s and 1990s was a growth in the use of non-standard forms of work (Lowe and Schellenberg, 1999; Scott, 2000). More employees worked in part-time, temporary or contract positions at the end of the millennium than in 1989 (CLMPC, 1997; Statistics Canada, 1998). Research suggests that many of these non-standard positions are low quality and offer few benefits and little flexibility (Akyeampong, 1997; Lowe and Schellenberg, 1999; Scott, 2000). Employees who are engaged in low quality, inflexible work are more likely to experience high levels of work stress which "spills over" into their family domain.

Declines in Perceived Job Security

Lowe and Schellenberg (1999) contend that in Canada in the 1980s and 1990s there was a substantial decline in secure, life-long career employment and perceived job security to the extent that in 1998 one in five Canadians said they were worried about losing their job. Job insecurity has relevance to work–life conflict in that for many employees, work–life conflict takes second place to securing permanent full-time employment. In addition, employees who are worried about finding and keeping a job (i.e. those in low paid and low skilled jobs, those without the education and skills to compete in the "new economy," those whose family situation makes it difficult to relocate, those whose families are highly dependent on their incomes) may be more likely to accept non-supportive and abusive working conditions—conditions which can, in turn, increase work–life conflict and stress.

Technological Changes in the Nature of Work

Technological advances have fundamentally changed the nature of work in Canada. They have altered when and where Canadians work, blurred the boundaries between work and non-work, increased the pace of work, and changed service delivery. Technological change in Canada is creating and destroying jobs at an astonishing rate and can be linked to the issue of work–life conflict in the

following three ways: (1) led to a decrease in job security and/or an increase in unemployment/underemployment for those without the skills to compete in today's labour market, (2) led to a blurring of the boundaries between work and life as it becomes increasingly easy to work anytime and anywhere, and (3) contributed to increased workloads and greater job stress.

Many Canadians Are Spending More Time in Paid Employment

At a time when technology was supposed to be reducing the work week and freeing up leisure time, a large segment of employees are instead working *longer* hours. Canadian labour force survey data indicate that between 1976 and 1995, the proportion of workers putting in a regular 35- to 40-hour week fell from 65% to 54% while the proportion usually working 41 hours or more climbed to 22% from 19% (Statistics Canada, 1997f). After adding unpaid overtime and time in travel, the majority of Canadians are now devoting 45 hours or more per week to paid employment. Many families with both parents working are devoting 120 hours or more per week to work and family activities—the equivalent of three 40-hour work weeks (Vanier Institute, 2000). Data on overtime work reflect a similar trend. In the first quarter of 1997, one fifth of the Canadian workforce—roughly 2 million employees—reported overtime hours. These employees spent, on average, 9 extra hours a week in overtime. Six out of ten of these employees received no pay for these extra hours (Statistics Canada, 1997f). Since time is a finite resource, it stands to reason that employees who devote more time to work have, by definition, fewer hours to spend in non-work roles and activities. As such, they can be expected to have greater difficulties balancing work and family.

There Has Been a Polarization in Hours of Paid Employment

While approximately one in five employees spends more time than he or she wants in paid employment, others may not spend as much time as they would like. Lowe (2000), Scott (2000) and Donner (1999) all observed that work distribution has become more polarized in Canada over the past decade, with part-time employees working shorter hours and many full-time employees working longer hours. Donner notes that "underwork and overwork" are both destructive conditions. He contends that the underemployed have difficulty getting by because they are excluded from paid work or forced into marginal situations of underemployment[11] while those at the other end of the continuum experience stress associated with unsupportable workloads, long work hours and being "time crunched."

Corporate Inertia with Respect to the Issue of Work–Life Balance

Organizational inertia has exacerbated work–life conflict issues for many workers who have, for the most part, been left on their own to cope with the new realities of the workplace. While the rhetoric of management throughout the 1990s was one of "putting people first," "human capital" and "competitive advantage through people," the data would suggest that management practices throughout the past decade tended to move in the opposite direction (i.e. massive downsizing, restructuring, delayering, re-engineering, redeploying and reskilling of employees). As Lowe (2000, p. 124) notes:

> "Despite several generations of management and organization theories that emphasize the importance of human resources, the idea that workers are the key to achieving all business goals remains a very hard sell."

Canadian organizations have, for example, been aware of the growing level of stress and work–family conflict among employees for some time. A study conducted 10 years ago by the Conference Board of Canada indicated that 50% of surveyed employers believed that work–family conflict was generating stress for their workers, and a nearly equal proportion of respondents reported morale and recruitment problems (Paris, 1989). A recent study by the Conference Board (MacBride-King and Bachmann, 1999) noted that nearly half of the survey respondents reported moderate to high work–life stress—a proportion that was up markedly from what they had communicated previously (27% moderate to high stress in 1988). Research in the early 1990s (Duxbury et al., 1992, Higgins, Duxbury, & Lee, 1993) found that 40% of Canadian employees reported high role overload and one in three found that their work responsibilities interfered with their ability to meet family role demands. More recent research by the authors (Duxbury and Higgins, 1998; 2001) found that the percentage of employees with high work–life conflict had increased to approximately 50% in 1998 and 58% in 2001.

Recent work by Lowe (2000) suggests that Canadians are now less willing than they used to be to trust either government or the private sector to take leadership with respect to issues such as work–life conflict, stress and

11 As Scott (2000) notes, "polarization of working hours also means the polarization of incomes."

meaningful work. Instead, they see these institutions as being part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

2.2.3 The Push to Become "Best Practice"

Employer of choice; best practice organization; *Working Mother* magazine's list of 100 best companies for parents to work for; *Business Week*'s list of 100 best practice employees; The Fortune 100 List of Best Companies to Work for in North America—it would appear that being an "employer of choice" has become trendy. While the term is bandied about in the popular press with great regularity, very few managers understand what the expression implies, why an organization would aspire to become best practice, and what steps an organization that wishes to become "an employer of choice" should take. The following section establishes the link between work–life balance and becoming a best practice employer.

What Is Meant by the Term "Employer of Choice?"

The terms "employer of choice" and "best practice employer" are used synonymously in the popular press and the management literature. But what do they mean? *Fortune Magazine* (June 13, 1994) offers the following explanation of these terms:

> "Today's companies are finding that winning commitment from employees without the old carrot of job security is extraordinarily difficult. In this environment, companies must work harder than ever to make themselves attractive places to work. There is a fight out there to get and keep the best employees. The winner is the company that does something positive to set itself apart."

Although the causal links are difficult to establish, correlational data show that companies with exceptional human asset management practices consistently are the most profitable firms in their industries (Fitz-Enz, 1997). As such, they are often held up as being employers of choice or best practice companies. There is a consensus within the literature that a best practice organization is one that permits employees to combine work and non-work activities in a meaningful way and supports work–life balance at all levels of the organization.

Why should a company focus its efforts on becoming an employer of choice? Some of the factors have already been discussed (e.g. demographic changes in the workforce). Other key reasons are enumerated below.

Employers Who Facilitate Work–Life Balance Are More Able to Recruit Employees

Interest in work–life balance has been fueled by the concerns of employers as they seek strategies to attract and retain committed and productive employees. As demographers predicted in the late 1980s (Johnston and Packer, 1987), the new millennium has brought with it a shortage of educated and skilled labour as baby boomers retire and the number of Canadians entering the labour force shrinks. The average age of employees in Canada is higher than at any time in recent history (between 1981 and 1996, the proportion of Canadians aged 15 to 24 fell from 19% to 14%) and available forecasts suggest that the shrinking of the labour force entry pool will continue well into the new century (Statistics Canada, 1997a). The problem is further compounded by the fact that the education and skills of many people seeking employment are often inadequate for the new types of jobs that are vacant (i.e. specialized skill requirements). After a decade of high unemployment, the pendulum is finally swinging the other way. Many of today's professionals are looking for work in a "sellers" market. Such job applicants believe that they are in charge of their own destiny and typically "vote with their feet" when they feel that the managers in their organization do not know what they are doing or are not treating them appropriately. What does this mean for Canadian employers? As noted by *Business Week* (September, 1998):

> "As work becomes more knowledge intensive, employers are fishing in a shrinking labour pool."
>
> "Where the jobs are is where the skills are not! There is currently a shortage of "elite" workers (e.g. those with scientific or engineering training, advanced degrees)."

At this point in time, the demand for labour now exceeds the supply in many areas (i.e. information technology, teachers, nurses). The reduced supply of entry-level workers will make finding, keeping and developing skilled employees a top priority in the years ahead. Research in this area would indicate that competitive salary on its own is often not enough to attract and retain employees with sought-after skills in today's market. The most sought-after employees also demand good working conditions, equitable employment practices, flexible work arrangements and career development opportunities. While money may attract an employee to an organization initially, work climates which offer little support often

inspire the best professionals to update their résumé and seek greener pastures.

These trends, more than any others, have awakened employers to the business risks inherent in ignoring the needs of this new workforce—a need which includes balance and places a high priority on a meaningful life outside of work (Duxbury, Dyke and Lam, 2000). Recent research (Conger, 1998; Duxbury, Dyke and Lam, 2000) would suggest that many younger employees are attracted to an organization by its policies and practices supporting work–life balance. As such, employers are now more motivated than ever to explore options that give employees more flexibility and control and are adopting programs which are designed to help employees balance work and life under the assumption that they will improve recruitment and retention (Lowe, 2000).

Employers Who Facilitate Work–Life Balance Are More Able to Retain Employees

Recruiting a good workforce is only part of the puzzle. Organizations also have to ensure that workers stay and flourish. Companies with high turnover pay a significant price. It has been estimated that the costs of replacing a professional employee can be up to five times the employee's annual salary (Vanderkolk and Young, 1991). These costs do not include indirect costs associated with accumulated human knowledge, lost future potential, and poor morale in areas with high turnover. Employee retention helps the company contain the costs associated with identifying, recruiting, retaining and moving talent. Indirect costs associated with client dissatisfaction are also higher in companies with high turnover (Gionfriddo and Dhingra, 1999). Provision of a supportive work environment which emphasizes balance has been shown to partially stem the flow of good employees out of an organization (Duxbury, Dyke and Lam, 2000).

Changing Attitudes Around Work–Life Balance

North America's baby boomers hold decidedly different values regarding the place of job or career in their lives than workers in previous generations (Kamerman and Kahn, 1987; Galinsky et al., 1991; Vanderkolk and Young, 1991). Research indicates that today's workers value greater equality for women, are more accepting of diverse family structures, and are more committed to flexibility, individualism and diversity (Kamerman and Kahn, 1987; Conger, 1998). Researchers are seeing a different set of attitudes in individuals just entering the workplace (the so-called "nexus" group or "echo boomers"). These individuals tend to be the children of parents who both held jobs. While they benefited from the extra family income being in a dual-income family entailed, many felt that they were deprived of their parents' company—a situation that is exacerbated by the fact that a very high percentage of them are the children of divorce (Conger, 1998). Many in this new generation of workers say that they do not want the sort of lives their parents led. Rather, they want to spend more time with and be more available to their families (Conger, 1998). As Conger (1998, p. 21) notes:

> "In a nutshell, they distrust hierarchy. They prefer more informal arrangements. They prefer to judge on merit rather than on status. They are far less loyal to their companies. They are the first generation to be raised on a heavy diet of workplace participation and teamwork. They know computers inside and out. They like money but they also say they want balance in their lives."

This increased desire and quest for a "real balance between work and private life" has major implications for today's workplace, especially with respect to recruiting and retaining this cohort. This generation can be expected to insist that organizations find more flexible ways to integrate time for family and private lives into demanding careers (Conger, 1998). The business practices that motivated the homogeneous, male breadwinning workforce of the past, therefore, may simply not work for this group of employees. Conger (1998) also suggests that this yearning for life balance may increase conflict for this new generation of workers as their value for interesting work (which is often accompanied by longer hours and greater demands) conflicts with their desire for happy marriages, meaningful family time and "weekends they can call their own."

Chapter 3
Methodology

This chapter is divided into six sections. The sample is introduced in part one. Included in this section is a description of the procedures used to obtain the sample. This is followed in part two by a description of the survey instrument. Response rate is covered in part three. Part four introduces and justifies the between group comparisons that will be discussed in this report: gender, job type, dependent care and sector. Data analyses are explained in part five. The chapter concludes in part six with an overview of how the sample is distributed with respect to gender, job type, dependent care and sector.

3.1 Sample

The sample consists of Canadian employees who work for public (federal, provincial and municipal governments), private and not-for-profit (defined in this study to include organizations in the health care and educational sectors)[12] sector organizations. All employees in the sample came from organizations employing 500 or more people.

3.1.1 Sampling Procedures

The sample was obtained as follows. Dun and Bradstreet provided us with lists of all employers in the public, private and not-for-profit sectors with 500 or more employees. The final sampling frame included 1482 qualified government and not-for-profit organizations and 1496 qualified private-sector organizations (2978 organizations in total).

Letters were sent to the Chief Executive Officer/Deputy Minister and head of Human Resources in each of these companies describing the study and asking for expressions of interest. All companies that expressed interest were contacted and given more detailed information on the study.

In total, 100 companies with 500+ employees participated in the study (3.4% of the companies identified in the total sample frame): 40 from the private sector, 22 from the public sector and 38 from the not-for-profit sector. Private-sector companies from the following sectors were included in the sample: telecommunications, high technology, retail, transportation, pharmaceutical, financial services, entertainment, natural resources and manufacturing. The public-sector sample included 7 municipal governments, 7 provincial government departments and 8 federal public service departments/agencies. The not-for-profit sector sample consisted of 15 hospitals/district health councils, 10 school boards, 8 universities and colleges, and 5 "other" organizations that could best be classified as not-for-profit/greater public service (e.g. social service, charity, protective services).

3.1.2 Surveying Procedures

Our sampling strategy was to get respondents from as large a number of organizations as possible given our funding. We therefore provided organizations with the following options with respect to their participation in the research:

Company Size	Minimum Sample	Maximum Sample
500 to 1000 employees	100 employees	Total Organization
1000 to 2500 employees	500 employees	Total Organization
2500 + employees	500 employees	5000 employees

Once the organization agreed to participate in the research, it was asked to provide us with a set of address labels (those who surveyed only part of their workforce prepared labels for a random sample of their total workforce). These labels were sent to us and used in the survey preparation process.[13] Once the questionnaire packages were prepared, they were delivered to a contact person within the organization who then used the organization's internal mail to distribute them to employees. The questionnaires were collected by the mail room and were returned to the researchers unopened. For reasons of confidentiality, the surveyed individuals were anonymous.

12 This grouping could also be labelled the "greater public service." Most organizations that are traditionally thought of as "not-for-profit" employ fewer than 500 people (in fact, most employ less than 100).

13 It should be noted that some organizations chose to label their own packages to ensure the confidentiality of their employee list.

In August 2001, a second five-page "employer" questionnaire was sent to a representative from each of the participating organizations. The results from this "employer" study will be reported at a later date.

3.2 The Questionnaire

The 12-page survey instrument was divided into nine sections: your job; your manager; time management; work, family and personal life; work arrangements; work environment; family; physical and mental health; and "information about you." Virtually all of the scales used in the questionnaire are psychometrically sound measures that have been well validated in other studies. To allow comparisons over time, many of the survey measures that were used in our 1991 national work–life study were incorporated into the 2001 questionnaire. A summary of the measures used, including the working definition of each of the variables, the source of the measure and its interpretation, will be included in subsequent reports as appropriate. For example, measures used to assess work–life conflict will be described in Report Two, measures used to examine use of the health care system in Report Three, etc.

The questionnaire was produced in a mark sensitive format with a unique bar code given to each organization participating in the study. Open-ended questions were typed in separately.

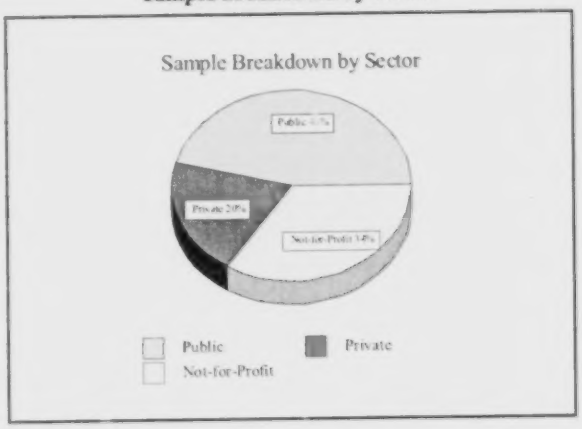
3.3 Response Rate

Approximately 120,000 surveys were sent out. At the time of data analysis, we had received 31,571 usable responses for a response rate of approximately 26%. Response rates varied widely across the sample, from a low of approximately 10% to a high of over 70%. The majority of organizations had a response rate in the range of 30% to 40%. This response rate is acceptable given the length of the survey (it took 30 to 60 minutes to complete) and the fact that it was impossible to send out follow-up reminder notices to survey recipients.

Ten percent of the 2001 sample respondents work part time. Follow-up analysis indicated that part-time status is significantly associated with gender (virtually all respondents in the part-time sample were women), sector (57% of those in the part-time sample work in the not-for-profit sector), time in work, time in dependent care (a higher proportion of those who work part time have children under the age of five and elder care responsibilities), income, family income, role overload and work interferes with family. Since it is likely that part-time status will have an impact on work–life conflict, it was decided that the analyses for the first six reports would be limited to employees who work full time (N = 28,394).

Response rate by sector data are given in Figure 2. Just under half (46%) of the respondents work in the public sector. One in three works in the not-for-profit sector and 20% are employed by a private-sector company. The fact that the number of responses from the private sector is lower is consistent with the fact that a higher proportion of private-sector organizations chose to sample only 100 of their employees.

Figure 2
Sample Breakdown by Sector



3.4 Between Group Comparisons

To fully appreciate how employees' ability to balance work and non-work demands have changed over the past decade, we extended our analysis to examine the impact of four variables on their experiences: (1) gender, (2) job type, (3) dependent care status, and (4) sector. While this list is by no means exhaustive, it does focus on those factors which previous research has shown influence both the nature of an individual's participation in work and family roles and/or shape the meaning individuals give to family and work and the identities they develop.[14] For policy makers and employers, this type of comparison identifies those individuals who may be at greatest risk with respect to work–life conflict and facilitates the development of solutions which are specific to the various groups.

14 See Bowen and Pittman, 1995 for a review of this literature.

3.4.1 Why Look at Gender?

There is a large body of literature to attest to the fact that women experience higher levels of work–life conflict than men. Why this is so is still the topic of some debate. Some suggest that women may be biologically "programmed" (e.g. through sex-based hormonal systems) to respond differently to stressors.[15] This hypothesis is borne out by differences in symptomatology shown by women versus men—women tend to respond to stress by exhibiting emotional symptoms such as depression, mental illness and general psychological discomfort whereas men tend to respond by manifesting physiological disease, such as heart disease and cirrhosis.

Others argue that gender differences in the stress response are attributable to differences in socialization processes and role expectations that expose women to a higher level of stressors. In the home, women, irrespective of their involvement in paid work, are significantly more likely than men to bear primary responsibility for home chores and child care (Statistics Canada, 2000). In the workplace, women are disproportionately represented in occupations with "built-in strain" such as clerical work, which couples high work demands with little discretionary control (Statistics Canada, 2000). Although it is difficult to determine which of these mechanisms is most responsible for women's differential response to stress, there is little doubt that women are exposed to different, and perhaps more, stressors than men both at work and at home.

3.4.2 Why Look at Job Type?

To examine the impact of job type on work–life conflict, the sample was divided into the following three job groups:

- professionals: defined as employees who held either managerial and/or professional positions;
- non-professionals: defined as employees who worked in clerical, retail, administrative and production positions; and
- technicians[16]: defined as employees who indicated they worked in technical jobs.

Several bodies of research suggest that the type of job an individual holds will affect his or her ability to balance work and family demands.[17] This research points out that managers and professionals are more likely to occupy occupations which afford better flexibility and personal control over the timing of work and offer greater extrinsic rewards (e.g. salary). It is believed that this increase in flexibility, control and income make it easier for managers and professionals to balance work and family demands and offset some of the "costs" that demanding jobs entail. Higher incomes, for example, permit employees to purchase goods and services to help them cope while increased flexibility makes it easier to coordinate work and non-work activities.

Non-professional employees, on the other hand, are more likely to work in high-demand, low-control jobs. Seminal work by Karasek (1979) indicates that employees in these types of positions typically report higher levels of stress and poorer physical and mental health.

Job type may also act as a surrogate measure for other important variables, such as education, income, commitment and identification with the work role which are, in turn, linked to work–life conflict and stress. Managers and professionals have been reported to be more highly educated, to receive greater remuneration, to have greater job mobility and to be more highly committed to and involved in their work than their counterparts in non-professional positions. Each of these factors has been linked to an increased ability to cope with work–life conflict and stress, and more positive work outcomes (i.e. higher commitment, higher job satisfaction).

3.4.3 Why Look at Dependent Care Status?

To gain a better appreciation of how dependent care influences the demands faced by employed Canadians, we compared the work and non-work demands and demographic characteristics of those with dependent care responsibilities (defined as an individual who spends at least one hour a week caring for a child and/or an elderly or disabled dependent) to those without any type of dependent care responsibilities (defined as an individual who spends *no* time per week in child care or elder care).

15 For a discussion, see Jick and Mitz, 1985.

16 Theoretically, it was difficult to hypothesize *a priori* if technical employees belonged in the professional or non-professional groups. As such, it was decided that the analysis done for Report One would examine them separately.

17 For a review of this literature, see Duxbury and Higgins, 1994; O'Neil and Greenberger, 1994; Quick et al., 1997.

A large body of research links the parental responsibilities of working couples to the incidence of work–family conflict.[18] This research suggests that parents will have more difficulties with respect to balance than non-parents as they have more demands and less control over their time.

In the new millennium, dependent care is not just a question of care for children. Concern over elder care responsibilities (defined as providing some type of assistance with the daily living activities for an elderly relative who is chronically ill, frail or disabled) is now increasing as the parents of baby boomers enter their 60s, 70s and 80s. Demographic projections suggest that society has yet to feel the full effects of elder care problems as the percentage of the workforce involved in elder care is expected to increase from one in five to one in four in the next decade (Statistics Canada, 2000).

3.4.4 Why Look at Sector?

There are a number of fundamental differences between organizations that are established to provide a commodity and earn a reasonable rate of return on investment (i.e. private sector) and organizations whose goals include meeting community needs and serving the public with respect to the provision of health care, education and public policy (government and the greater public service). Cardinal Joseph Bernardin[19] perhaps said it best when he noted that:

> "Government can consider that it has discharged its task when its policies are effective. The private sector is considered successful when a customer buys its product and is satisfied with it, and when it consistently provides stakeholders with a reasonable return on investment. The not-for-profit sector has a more difficult task defining success but generally it has done its job when it successfully provides programs that the community needs."

A web search[20] further revealed that public, private and not-for-profit sectors vary with respect to the following: types of jobs, working conditions, use of alternative and shift work arrangements, level of unionization, consequences of a strike, public accountability, forms of recognition, importance of customer satisfaction, consequences of failure, decision-making processes, pace of change, dependence on technology, emphasis on hierarchy, organizational structures, financing, budgeting processes, security of employment, educational requirements, occupational concentration, occupational groups, regulatory frameworks, definitions of success, goals, ability to strike, measurement of performance and productivity, and willingness to take risks. This study extends the research in this area by examining how work–life conflict varies with organizational sector.

3.4.5 The Approach Used in This Paper to Examine Between Group Differences

This research series takes a fairly unique approach to the analysis of gender impacts on work–life conflict by examining gender differences within job type, dependent care status, and sector. Such an analysis recognizes that Canadian men and women have different realities and that it may be these realities, rather than gender itself, that have an impact on the attitudes and outcomes being examined in this analysis. This type of analysis should be invaluable to policy makers who need to know if the supports and interventions should be targeted to a particular group (e.g. women, parents) or an environmental condition (e.g. low-control jobs).

The decision to look at job type and sector differences within gender is supported by recent data (Lowe, 2000; Statistics Canada, 2000) which show that Canadian women are compressed into many of the lower paying positions within organizations. This compression occurs in all three employment sectors. For example, in 1999, 70% of all employed women (versus 29% of employed men) worked in occupations in which women have traditionally been concentrated, such as teaching and nursing. One in four women worked in a clerical or administrative position (Statistics Canada, 2000).

Gender and dependent care status are also considered simultaneously in this analysis to accommodate the literature which suggests that "motherhood" is different

18 See Bowen and Pittman, 1995 for a good review of this literature.

19 www.ccponline.org/chapters/ilnorthern/card011295

20 A web search using the words "employment sector" and "characteristics" was done to increase our understanding of the impact of sector. The International Labor Organization's web site, http:/www.ilo.org, was particularly helpful in this regard.

than "fatherhood."[21] Virtually all of the literature in the work–life arena notes that working mothers assume a disproportionate share of family responsibilities and that, even in the new millennium, society judges women's worth by their performance of family roles (e.g. mother, elder caregiver, cook, homemaker) while men's merit is judged by their success as a "breadwinner." As Vanderkolk and Young (1991, p. 45) note most eloquently:

> "Even as women's attitudes and needs have changed regarding the world of work, corporate America has by and large been stuck in the '50s with a TV image of "Harriet" keeping the home together while "Ozzie" goes off to the office or the plant. The fact of the matter is that "Harriet" has now taken on both roles."

The research that is available in the area suggests that women also assume a disproportionate share of the responsibility for elder care.[22] In 1998, of those full-time employees who spent more than an hour per week engaged in unpaid elder care, women spent an average of 7.1 hours per week compared to an average of 5.6 hours per week for males.[23]

3.5 Statistical Analyses

The following types of analysis are used in Report One.

- *Frequencies:* calculated as the percentage of the sample giving a particular response (e.g. gender, education, income, job type, work arrangement)
- *Means:* calculated as the sample's average response to open-ended questions (e.g. age, years with current organization, time spent in child care, hours in work per week)
- *Crosstabs:* used to determine if the effect of job type, employment sector and dependent care status is the same for men and women.

The focus in this report is on significant differences that are "substantive" in nature.[24] For the purposes of this report, we have defined substantive as being a difference of 3% or more for the gender by dependent care comparisons (i.e. two-way comparison) and 5% or more for the gender by job type and gender by sector comparisons (i.e. three-way comparison).

3.6 Sample Distribution

The following section describes how the sample is distributed with respect to gender, job type, dependent care status and sector.

3.6.1 Gender

In 1999, women made up 46% of the Canadian workforce (Statistics Canada, 2000). Since the survey was randomly distributed within participating organizations, we would expect that just under half of our sample would be women. Examination of the data indicates, however, that just over half of the respondents (55%) were women. This gender breakdown would suggest that the women who received the survey were more likely than the men to respond.[25] This gender difference in response rate is consistent with the idea that many employees, both male and female, still consider work and family to be a women's issue and that more women than men have a personal interest in this issue.[26] It is hoped that the data in this report can help to put this issue into perspective for both men and women.

The over-representation of women in the sample reinforces our decision to take gender into account in the data analysis by gender. It also means that it may be necessary in future reports to post stratify the sample if we want to generalize findings to the Canadian workforce.

3.6.2 Job Type

Job type by gender data are given in Figure 3. Just under half (47%) of the respondents worked in managerial and professional positions, 40% worked in non-professional positions (e.g. clerical, administrative, retail, production) and 13% worked in technical jobs. The majority of

21 The following references present arguments or data illustrating the different impacts of motherhood and fatherhood: Bowen and Pittman, 1995, O'Neil and Greenberger, 1994; Hochschild, 1989; Statistics Canada, 2000; Vanier Institute, 2000.

22 See research by Frederick and Fast, 1999 and Keating et al., 1999.

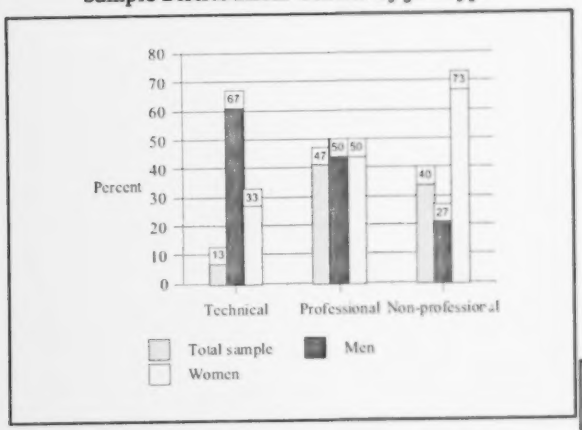
23 Calculated using Statistics Canada 1998 General Social Survey Cycle 12 - Time Use Survey data by Jacqueline Power, Ph.D. student, Carleton University.

24 This requirement was necessary as the very large sample size meant that virtually all between group differences were statistically significant.

25 The issue of the gender composition is further explored when we look at the sectorial and job type breakdown of the sample.

26 The title page of the survey was: "Balancing work, family and lifestyle: National study."

Figure 3
Sample Distribution: Gender by Job Type



respondents in technical positions were men (67%) while the majority of respondents in non-professional positions were women (73%). The managerial and professional sample was evenly split between the genders.

How does this compare to the Canadian population in general? It is very difficult to get figures which apply only to companies employing more than 500. The 1999 job type by gender data shown in Table 1 are instructive, although they are not directly comparable.[27]

Table 1
Distribution of Employment
by Occupation and Gender, 1999

	Men	Women
Manager	11.6%	6.2%
Professional	17.3%	22.8%
Clerical, administrative, service	25.5%	56.3%

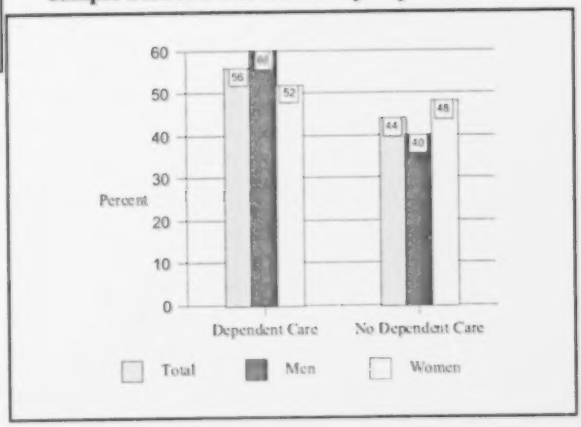
Source: Statistics Canada (2000)
Note: The Figures do not add up to 100. See Footnote 27.

3.6.3 Dependent Care

Just over half of the survey respondents (56%) had dependent care responsibilities. The rest (44%) did not (see Figure 4). While the females in the sample were fairly evenly split between those with dependent care and those without, a higher proportion of the men in the sample had dependent care responsibilities (60%) than those who did not. These findings are consistent with those reported (Johnson et al., 2001) and reflect the fact that women with dependent care responsibilities are more likely than their male counterparts to selectively exit the workforce.

Most of the respondents in the dependent care sample had children. A minority (10% of the men and 16% of the women) were non-parents who spent time each week in elder care. Those without dependent care, on the other hand, were evenly split between younger men and women

Figure 4
Sample Distribution: Gender by Dependent Care



without children (40% of the men and 48% of the women in the non-dependent care sample fell into this category) or older employees whose children no longer lived at home.

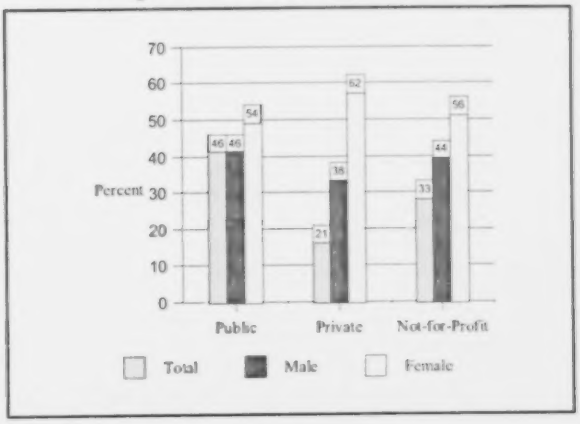
27 Breakdown comes from the Labour Force Survey and includes the entire labour force 15 years of age and over (i.e. includes part-time employees and employees working for small- and medium-sized businesses) by broad occupational category (i.e. does not break out technical employees as a separate category and includes in the total occupations that are not classified) and by gender.

3.6.4 Sector

Just under half (46%) of the respondents worked for a public-sector organization, one-third (33%) worked in the not-for-profit sector and 21% worked for a private-sector company. How representative is this sample distribution? It is very difficult to provide an exact answer for this question, but the data that are available (see Appendix B) do suggest that our sample has a higher proportion of public servants and not-for-profit sector workers and a lower proportion of private-sector employees than can be found employed in large companies in Canada.

The gender breakdown of the public service and not-for-profit sector samples (see Figure 5) appears to be very close to the actual gender distribution of these sectors (see Appendix B). Men are, however, under-represented in the private-sector sample which is two-thirds female and one-third male. This finding reinforces the need to report all data by sector and gender.

Figure 5
Sample Distribution: Gender by Sector



Chapter 4
Profile of Respondents: Demographic Characteristics

This chapter of the report provides a demographic profile of the respondents to our survey. The following data are discussed in this chapter: age, marital status, family type, where the respondent lives, and socio-economic status. In all cases, the link between the variable and work–life conflict is established, and the sample is compared to national data (where possible).

4.1 Age

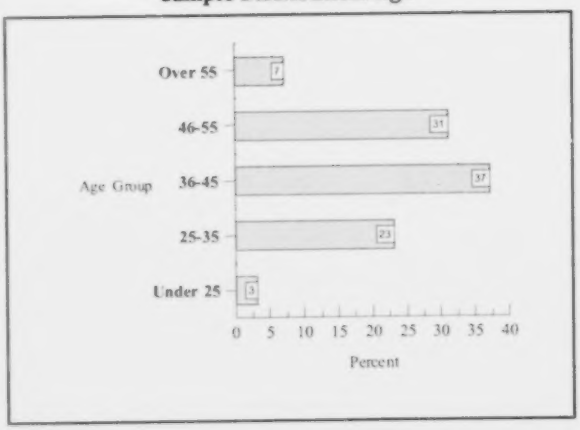
Age can be used to approximate life-cycle stage, career-cycle stage and adult development stage, all of which can be linked to an individual's ability to balance work and family demands.

- Life-cycle stage is determined by age and normative life events (e.g. marriage, children). Individuals who are in the "full-nest" stage of the life-cycle (i.e. have young children at home) or are part of the sandwich generation (child care and elder care) are believed to face the greatest challenges in balancing work and family.
- Career-cycle stage (early career, mid career, late career, retirement) is also linked with age. Heavier work demands have been associated with entry into the workforce (20s), early mid career (30s) and "fast track" career-cycle stages (40s).
- Adult development stage is also linked to age. Research in this area indicates that people go through transitional periods where they re-evaluate their life and re-create their life structure at around 30, 40 and 50 years of age.[28] Turbulent transitions are called crises.

Respondents in Full-Nest Stage of the Life-Cycle

The sample is well distributed with respect to age (see Figure 6) and closely approximates the age of the Canadian working population (Statistics Canada, 2000). The mean age of the respondents to this survey was 42.8 which puts them in the mid career (and perhaps "fast track") stages of the career cycle, the "full-nest" stage of the life-cycle and the 40's transition stage of adult development.

Figure 6
Sample Distribution: Age



The men in the sample were slightly older than the women (mean age of 44 for men versus 42 for women). This gender difference in age is consistent with what has been reported for the Canadian workforce as a whole (Statistics Canada, 2000). When gender is taken into account:

- private-sector respondents are, on average, approximately two years younger than their counterparts in the public and not-for-profit sector; and
- respondents without dependent care responsibilities are on average two years younger than those with such responsibilities.

These differences are also consistent with national trends (Lowe, 2000; Statistics Canada, 2000).

4.2 Marital Status

The research literature has also found an association between marital status and work–life conflict. The relationship is, however, by no means straightforward and we have a lot to learn in this area. On the one hand, marriage can increase an employee's non-work demands while simultaneously decreasing the amount of control he

28 For an excellent discussion of adult development, career and life-cycle, see Levinson et al., 1978; Schein, 1978; and Feldman, 1987.

or she has over personal time (i.e. greater need to coordinate activities with others). On the other hand, a spouse can provide emotional and tangible support in times of stress (e.g. take responsibility for home chores, help out in a crisis), thereby increasing the employee's sense of control. Some researchers suggest that it is not the role of marriage *per se* that is important but the quality of the role.[29]

We asked our respondents to indicate their present marital status. These data along with national data from the 1996 Census are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Sample Distribution: Marital Status

	Total Sample	Men	Women	Canada*
Single	13%	10%	15%	28%
Married/Partner	77%	84%	72%	59%
Divorced	9%	7%	12%	7%
Widowed	0.5%	—	1%	5%

**Source of Canada Data: Statistics Canada (1997) 1996 Census, Catalogue No. 93F0022XDB96005*

The Majority of Respondents Married or Living with a Partner

Three quarters of the respondents to this survey were married or living with a significant other.[30] Nationally, 60% of Canadians were married or lived common law in 1996. This would suggest that employees who are married or in a committed relationship were more likely than single employees to respond to this survey.

Male Respondents More Likely Than Female Respondents to Be Married

The men in the sample, regardless of sector, job type or dependent care status, were more likely than the women to be married. This gender difference in marital status may be because married mothers are less likely to work for pay outside the home than married fathers.

Marital status was associated with job type and sector for the men in the sample. The male managers in the sample were more likely to be married (87%) than those in technical (82%) and non-professional (78%) jobs. Men in the not-for-profit sector sample were more likely to be married (87%) than their counterparts in the public- or private-sector samples (both 82%). The proportion of women in the sample who were married did not vary by sector or job type.

Men with Dependent Care Responsibilities More Likely Than Women to Be Married

Not surprisingly, respondents with dependent care responsibilities were more likely to be in a committed relationship. Male respondents with dependent care commitments were more likely to be married than their female counterparts (91% of men married versus 78% of women). This is consistent with the fact that most of the single parents in the sample are women.

Most Respondents Have Been Married Only Once

While the majority of respondents were in their first marriage, 11% had been married two times and 1% had been married three or more times. The likelihood of multiple marriages is not associated with gender, sector, job type or dependent care status.

4.3 Family Type

It is necessary to examine the changing face of the Canadian family in any study on balancing work and family, as many of the attitudes and values of the workforce are being driven by the changing roles and responsibilities of family members. Today's family may be composed of two parents with children, a single parent and children, two adults with children from one or two marriages, parents in a common-law relationship, children whose parents live in separate residences, etc. Despite significant changes in family structure, the needs and wants of family members remain the same. In most cases, however, the responsibility for satisfying those needs and wants rests with people who face the demands and obligations associated with being paid employees as well as family members.

29 See Barnett and Baruch, 1987 for an example of this line of reasoning.

30 Please note that throughout the text the terms "married," "significant other," "spouse," "partner," "husband" and "wife" are used interchangeably to include men and women who are in a committed relationship.

This study takes a comprehensive view of family type. Rather than define families as being dual income, single parent, traditional (i.e. male earner, female homemaker), we consider the fact that there might be variations within this group that are key to our understanding the work–life conflict dynamic. Consequently, building on the theory presented in Chapter Three we consider the type of job done by each partner within the family when constructing our model of family type. The following questions were used to determine family type:

- Which of the following descriptions[31] best fits most of the work:
  - you do (i.e. respondent)?
  - your spouse does?
- How many children do you have?

Data associated with these questions were used to determine family type as follows:

- dual career: both spouses worked in managerial and professional positions
- dual earner: both spouses worked in technical, clerical, retail, administrative or production positions[32]
- dual mixed: one partner worked in a "career" job while the other worked in a non-professional position
- traditional: respondent indicated that partner was at home full time
- single: respondent indicated he or she had no spouse or partner

Within each of these groupings, we then further subdivided the sample according to whether they had children at home or not. The distribution of the total sample with respect to each of these family types can be found in Table 3.

Table 3
Sample Distribution: Family Type

	Partner 1			
Partner 2	Career - married	Earner - married	Homemaker - married	No partner
Career - married	15% with children 5% no children	—	5% with children 0.5% no children	—
Earner - married	20% with children 5% no children	18% with children 5% no children	—	—
No partner	—	—	—	15% no children 11% children

31 Respondents were provided with a list from which to pick.

32 Justification for this breakdown can be found in our discussion of job type differences in the data in Chapter Nine of this report.

Dual-income Families in the Majority

Both husband and wife work for pay in 69% of the families represented in our sample (54% are in dual-income families with children, 15% are in dual-income families without children). This is virtually the same percentage of Canadian families which are dual-income (Sauve, 1999). Dual-income families have been found to have more difficulty balancing work and family roles.

Not only are respondents part of dual-income families, most have spouses who are employed full time in the workforce (respondents indicated that their partner spent an average of 39.3 hours per week in paid employment). The women in the sample indicated that their spouse worked 42.3 hours per week; the men in the sample indicated that their spouse worked 35.4 hours per week. This gender difference suggests that the dual-income men in the sample are more likely than the dual-income females to have a spouse who works part time. This finding is consistent with national data showing that women are more likely than men to work part time (Statistics Canada, 2000).

Examination of the data in Table 3 gives us some additional information on the families in our sample.

- Fifteen percent were members of a dual-career family with children. Research suggests that such families face challenges associated with competing career demands and higher expectations at work. On a positive note, such families are also often blessed with higher incomes, greater job mobility, more fulfilling jobs and greater flexibility.
- Eighteen percent were members of a dual-earner family with children. Research suggests that such families face challenges associated with lower incomes, reduced job security, less fulfilling jobs and reduced work time flexibility. On the other hand, the time demands associated with work are traditionally lower.
- Twenty percent were in dual-mixed families with children. In 80% of these families, the male holds the professional position while the female is a non-professional. This is consistent with national data showing that in the majority of families in Canada, the man's income is higher than the woman's (Statistics Canada, 2000). Little is known about the relationship between this family configuration and work–life conflict as most research focuses on dual-career, dual-earner or dual-income families and makes no distinctions based on the job types within the family. It may be that conflict is higher within these families as spouses have less of an appreciation of the demands and restrictions that their partner faces at work. Alternatively, it may be that conflict is lower in these types of families (especially for the partner in the career position) as the partner in the non-professional position assumes increased responsibilities at home. This report series will address some of these deficiencies in the literature.

"Traditional" Male Breadwinner Families in the Minority

Eleven percent of our sample of men (5% of the total sample) matched the traditional nuclear family model with father as sole breadwinner and mother as homemaker. This is a slightly lower percentage than found in the Canadian population as a whole (approximately 20% of Canadian families have a male breadwinner and a "stay-at-home" mother). When women are full-time homemakers, the potential for problems balancing work and family is reduced as the division of labour is often clearly established along gender lines. Only 1% of the women in our sample are in a family where they work and their husband assumes the caregiver role.

Male Professionals More Likely to Be in Traditional Families

The male managers and professionals in the sample were more likely to be in a traditional family than men in technical and non-professional positions. This finding suggests membership in this type of family is strongly associated with income (i.e. many families cannot afford to have one member at home full time). This interpretation of the data is consistent with our earlier observations (see Chapter Two) regarding Canadians' increased reliance on the female partner's earnings.

Single-parent Families Outnumber Traditional Families

Eleven percent of the respondents were single parents. The majority of these single-parent households were headed by women (14% of the women in the sample were single parents versus 6% of the men). In our sample, non-professional women were more likely than professional women to be in single-parent families (16% of the non-professional women in our sample were in single-parent families versus 5% of the females in professional positions). These data are consistent with national data reported by Statistics Canada (2000). Single-parent families are of special concern because these families, especially those headed by "pink-collar" women, face a variety of economic disadvantages. For example, over half of lone-parent families headed by

women have incomes that fall below official Statistics Canada's Low-Income Cut-off lines.

The Woman's Job Is Secondary in Many Families

Male respondents, particularly those in managerial and professional positions, were more likely to be in dual-mixed families with children. This gender difference can be seen in all sectors. These data would suggest that many Canadian dual-income families still fit the traditional pattern where men are the primary breadwinner and women's earnings are considered secondary.

4.4 Residence

At this point in time, we have little understanding about how the ability to balance work and life varies across the country. While our study of the province of Saskatchewan (Duxbury and Higgins, 1998) determined that residents who lived in rural areas and smaller communities experienced more challenges with respect to balance than their counterparts in larger urban centres, it is not known to what extent these findings can be generalized to the country as a whole. Similarly, while we know that social policies that may affect work–life conflict vary by province, we do not know to what extent these policies manifest themselves in terms of lower or higher levels of stress, conflict, etc. Such information is necessary to policy makers who are responsible for designing appropriate interventions. This study seeks to fill some of these gaps.

Residence was examined in this study by asking respondents to indicate their postal code (used to determine province of residence, region of the province and whether or not the individual lived in an urban or rural area) and the approximate population of the community in which they live. We also asked what language they spoke at home.

The Majority of Respondents Live in Urban Areas

The majority of the respondents to this survey (88%) lived in an urban area, 12% lived in a rural area. According to the 1996 Census,[33] nationally 22% of Canadians live in rural areas while 78% live in urban communities.

Respondents Come from Across Canada

Data on the regional distribution of the sample are given in Table 4. National data from 2000 are provided for comparison purposes. The data indicate that the respondents to this survey came from across the country. The majority came from the most populous provinces (Ontario and Quebec). While not shown, it is important to note that we also have an excellent distribution within the different regional groupings. For example, the "Prairies" grouping is obtained by combining the 10% of

Table 4
Sample Distribution: Region

Region	Total Sample	Sector			Canada*
		Public	Private	Not-for-Profit	
Atlantic	12%	10%	20%	12%	8%
Quebec	22%	25%	17%	18%	24%
Ontario	25%	23%	31%	23%	38%
Prairies	20%	20%	20%	20%	17%
British Columbia	10%	9%	4%	16%	13%
NWT/Yukon	1%	2%	0%	1%	0.1%
No postal code	10%	13%	8%	10%	

**Source of Canada Data: Statistics Canada, CANSIM, Matrices 6367-6378 and 6408-6409, 2000*
Notes: Totals may not add up to 100% due to rounding.
Atlantic region includes Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and Prairie region includes Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

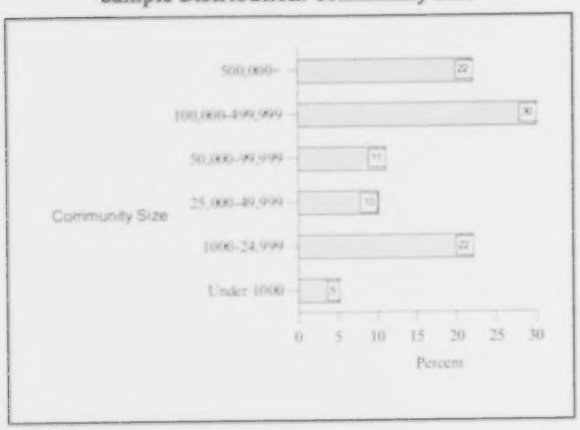
33 Statistics Canada. (1998). 1996 Census: National Tables. (Catalogue No. 93-357-XPB).

respondents who live in Alberta with the 5% who live in Saskatchewan and the 5% who live in Manitoba. There were no meaningful gender, job type or dependent care status differences with respect to residence. The relationship between sector and residence is shown in Table 4.

Respondents Live in Communities of Different Sizes

The sample is well distributed with respect to community size (see Figure 7). While the majority of respondents (52%) lived in communities with 100,000 or more people, one in four lived in communities with fewer than 25,000 people. The size of the community in which the respondent resides is not associated with gender, sector or dependent care status. Respondents who work in professional positions were more likely to be found in the larger centres; non-professionals were more likely to live in communities of under 25,000.

Figure 7
Sample Distribution: Community Size



While Majority of Respondents State That English Is Their Mother Tongue, 17% Chose French

The majority of respondents (80%) indicated that English is their first language, 17% said French and 4% indicated a language other than French or English. According to the 1996 Census, 23.3% of Canadians have French as their mother tongue and 59% have English. The rest selected a non-official language as their mother tongue or gave multiple responses. Neither gender nor dependent care status was associated with language. Not-for-profit sector respondents were more likely to give English as their mother tongue.

4.5 Socio-economic Status

There are a number of variables that can act as buffers between work and family conditions and positive or negative outcomes. One such variable is socio-economic status. Three highly inter-correlated aspects of socio-economic status are considered in this analysis: job type, education, and income. The link between job type and work–life conflict has already been established (see Chapter Three). Research in the area has linked years in formal education to more positive coping, increased job mobility and job security, higher job quality and increased perceived control. Income has also been found to be significantly associated with the ability to cope with work and family demands.[34] Higher income families can usually afford to hire adequate household and child care help to ease domestic burdens and may more easily purchase services and labour-saving devices to reduce demands on their time and energy (e.g. dining out, hiring a housekeeper, household appliances). Details on the socio-economic status of the sample are provided below.

4.5.1 Job Type

The sample distributions with respect to job type and sector are given in Table 5. These data indicate that two thirds of the sample work in what are typically considered to be "white-collar" or "professional" jobs (16% are managers, 35% are professionals and 15% work in technical positions). In other words, the majority of respondents can be considered to be "knowledge workers."[35] One in three of the survey respondents (34%) worked in non-professional positions.

While men and women were equally likely to hold professional positions, the likelihood of working in managerial, technical and non-professional clerical and administrative jobs is strongly associated with gender. Job type also varies with sector (see Table 5), a finding which is consistent with the fact that occupations tend to be concentrated by sector. Key differences are noted below.

34 A good discussion of the impact of education and income can be found in Voydanoff 1995a, 1995b, and Lowe, 2000.

35 Data could not be found that allowed us to determine how closely the job type distribution of this sample mirrors the actual workforce. Occupational data that are currently available are based upon a multitude of definitions and do not break down the data by company size and sector.

Table 5
Sample Distribution: Job Type by Sector

Job Type	Public		Private		Not-for-Profit		Total Sample		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Manager	22%	12%	27%	17%	22%	8%	23%	12%	16%
Professional	32%	28%	23%	16%	50%	55%	36%	35%	35%
Technical	26%	9%	32%	10%	10%	7%	22%	7%	15%
Non-professional	20%	51%	18%	57%	18%	30%	19%	46%	34%

Note: The non-professional grouping includes respondents who held clerical, administrative and "other" positions. Only 2% of the sample worked in "production" jobs. Totals may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Men More Likely to Work in Managerial and Technical Positions

The men in the sample were substantially more likely than the women to hold managerial and technical positions. These gender differences in job type were observed in three sectors and are consistent with national data (Statistics Canada, 2000).

Women More Likely to Hold Non-professional Positions

The women in the sample were substantially more likely than the men to work in clerical and administrative positions. These gender differences in job type are reflective of differences which occur in the Canadian workforce overall (Statistics Canada, 2000) and suggest that women are still being compressed into the lower quality jobs within Canadian organizations.

The Not-for-Profit Sector Employs a Greater Proportion of Professionals

Just over 50% of the men and women who work in the not-for-profit sector are professionals. Relatively few of the not-for-profit sector respondents worked in non-professional, clerical and administrative positions. These results are not surprising because the majority of organizations in the not-for-profit sector sample were schools, universities, hospitals and school boards.

Technical Employees More Likely to Work in Private and Public Sector

Male technical employees were more likely to be found in the public- and private-sector samples. This finding is consistent with the fact that many of the public- and private-sector organizations in the sample had a high dependence on information technology.

4.5.2 Education

The sample is quite diverse with respect to education level (see Table 6). While one third of the respondents did not have a lot of formal education (35% of respondents had high school (HS) education or less), almost one in four (23%) had a college diploma and 42% had university education (28% had one degree, 14% had a postgraduate degree). These data are consistent with the job type data presented previously. To put these data into context, it is interesting to note that in 1996 12.3% of women and 14.3% of men had university degrees (Statistics Canada, 2000). With respect to the educational status of those employed in public- and private-sector firms, the 1997 Labour Force Survey (Lowe, 2000) noted that 18% of those who worked in these sectors had one or more university degrees, 33% had a post-secondary diploma and 49% had high school education or less.

In this sample, educational status is significantly associated with gender, sector, job type and dependent care status. The following key observations can be drawn with respect to these data:

- Men were more likely than the women to have a university education.
- Women in the not-for-profit sector were more likely than women in the other sectors to have university and college degrees.
- Men and women in managerial and professional positions were more likely to have a university education.
- Men and women in technical positions were more likely to have a college degree.
- Just over half of those in non-professional positions had high school education or less.

- Women managers and professionals and women technicians were more highly educated (i.e. more likely to have more than a high school education) than their male counterparts.

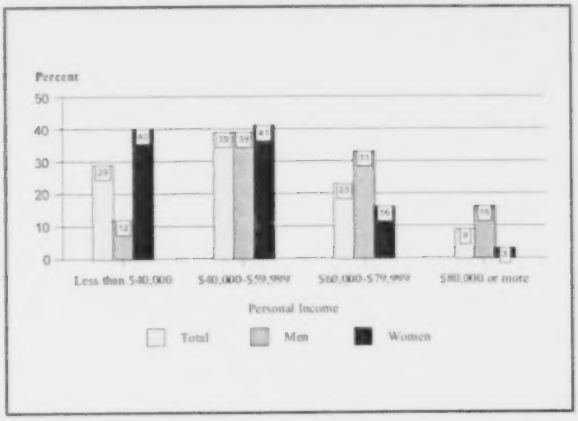
Women with More Formal Education Were Less Likely to Have Children

In this sample, the women without dependent care responsibilities had more formal education (45% with university education) than the women with dependent care responsibilities (35% with university). No such difference was observed in the male sample. These findings are consistent with data reported by Johnson et al. (2001) showing that professional women in Canada are delaying having children in order to focus their attention on their careers.

4.5.3 Personal Income

Personal income was quantified in this study by asking respondents to circle the category which best described their income before taxes. Personal income data by gender and for the total sample are shown in Figure 8. The sample is well distributed with respect to personal income, with 29% of respondents earning less than $40,000 per year; 39% earning between $40,000 and $59,999; 23% earning between $60,000 and $79,999; and 9% earning $80,000 or more per year. In other words, approximately one third of respondents can be considered to be lower income, 39% can be considered to have moderate incomes and 32% can be considered to have higher incomes. For comparison purposes, census data indicated that the average employment income in Canada in 1996 was $26,474 while the median employment income was $21,099.[36]

Figure 8
Sample Distribution: Gender by Personal Income



Women Have Lower Personal Incomes Than Men

As can be seen from the data in Figure 8, gender is strongly associated with personal income in our sample with women being more likely than men to earn less than $40,000 and men being more likely than women to earn more than $60,000. Even when education was held constant, income was still lower for the women in our

Table 6
Sample Distribution: Education by Sector and Job Type

	High School or Less		College		University	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Public	33%	42%	23%	22%	44%	36%
Private	28%	48%	27%	23%	45%	39%
Not-for-Profit	39%	24%	16%	27%	45%	49%
Manager/Professional	26%	17%	15%	21%	59%	63%
Technical	37%	32%	43%	39%	17%	25%
Non-professional	51%	54%	17%	25%	32%	21%
Total sample	34%	36%	21%	24%	45%	40%

Note: Totals may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

36 Statistics Canada. (1998). The 1996 Census, Nation Tables. Cat. No. 930022XDB96005.

sample than the men. This gender difference in income, which could be observed in all three sectors, is consistent with national trends (Statistics Canada, 2000). For example, recent data[37] indicate that the average income for full-time, full-year workers (the group included in our sample) was $32,553 per year for women and $45,070 for men.

Male Managers and Professionals Have Higher Personal Incomes

Income data are given by gender and job type in Table 7. As can be seen, the women in the sample have lower personal incomes than their male counterparts, regardless of the job category being examined. Male managers and professionals receive the highest personal incomes; female non-professionals receive the lowest personal incomes.

Men in the Private and Not-for-Profit Sectors Have the Highest Personal Incomes

Income data are given by gender and sector in Table 7. These data indicate that the men in the not-for-profit and private sectors have the highest personal incomes; women in the private sector the lowest.

4.5.4 Family Income

Respondents were also asked to circle the category that best described their total family income before taxes. As can be seen from the data in Figure 9, the sample was well distributed with respect to family income. Just over one quarter of the families in our sample (26%) earned less than $60,000 per year (for comparison purposes it should be noted that the Canadian average yearly family income in 1996 was $54,583[38]). Total family income exceeded $100,000 for 29% of the families represented by this sample.

Table 7
Sample Distribution: Personal Income by Gender, Job Type and Sector

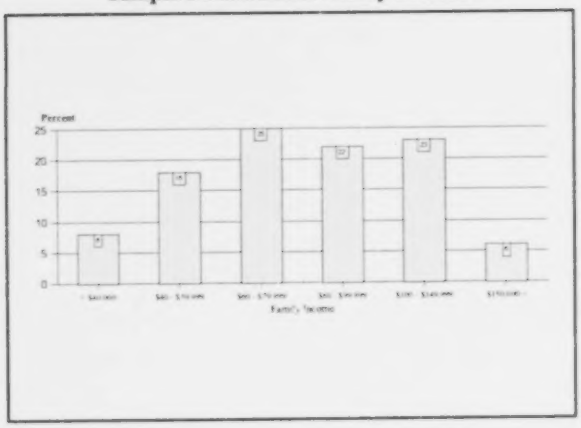
Personal Income	Manager/Professional		Technical		Non-professional	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Less than $40,000	4%	12%	14%	33%	32%	66%
$40,000 to $59,999	31%	52%	63%	59%	37%	27%
$60,000 to $79,999	40%	28%	21%	8%	25%	6%
$80,000 or more	25%	8%	2%	0%	5%	1%
	Public Sector		**Private Sector**		**Not-for-Profit Sector**	
Less than $40,000	13%	42%	17%	54%	8%	27%
$40,000 to $59,999	50%	43%	40%	33%	21%	43%
$60,000 to $79,999	26%	12%	22%	8%	49%	26%
$80,000 or more	11%	3%	21%	5%	21%	4%

Note: Totals may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

37 Obtained from Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division.

38 This was the average family income in 1996, the last year for which census data are currently available. Statistics Canada. (1998). The 1996 Census, Nation Tables. Cat. No. 930022XDB96005.

Figure 9
Sample Distribution: Family Income



Family income was not associated with dependent care status, sector or gender. The last finding is particularly interesting as it suggests that women who earn less money are married to men who earn more and that the men in traditional families in our sample make a significant income on their own.

Professional Families Have Higher Income

Job type is associated with family income as expected (see Table 8), with managers and professionals being more likely to be in families that earn $100,000 or more a year. This is consistent with the family type data presented earlier. The difference between the family incomes of technical and non-professional families was not substantive.

4.5.5 Family's Financial Status

To get some idea of what these family income data mean in terms of the financial well-being of the families in our study (i.e. income levels are not directly comparable as cost of living varies by location and the need for money varies with dependent care status), we asked respondents to circle the response that best described their family's situation (respondents who lived alone were asked to answer the question from their own perspective). Respondents were given the following options:

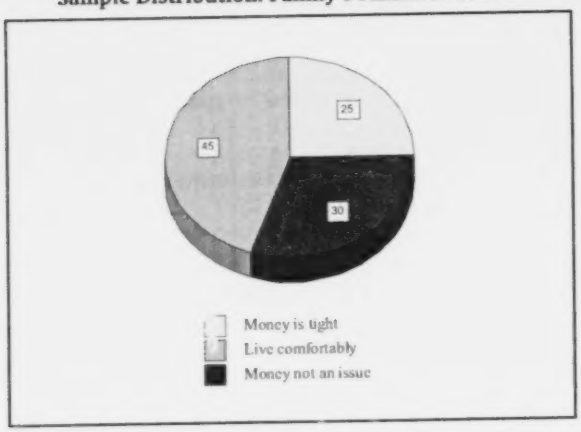
- our family's financial resources are not enough to get by on,
- we get by on our family's resources but it is tight,
- we live comfortably on our family's financial resources but do not have enough money for extras,
- we live more than comfortably on our family's financial resources and have money for extras, and
- money is not an issue for our family.

The responses given to this question (collapsed into three categories) are shown in Figure 10. One quarter of the respondents indicated that in their family money was tight while 30% felt that money was not an issue for their family. Almost half of the sample (45%) perceived that they were able to live comfortably on their family's income.

Table 8
Sample Distribution: Family Income by Job Type

Family Income	Manager/Professional		Technical		Non-professional	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Less than $60,000	13%	18%	34%	29%	34%	38%
$60,000 to $99,999	47%	40%	54%	47%	47%	47%
$100,000 or more	40%	42%	12%	24%	19%	15%

Figure 10
Sample Distribution: Family's Financial Status



While the plurality of respondents in each sector say that their family income allows them to live comfortably:

- respondents who work in the not-for-profit sector were more likely to say that "money is not an issue";
- respondents in the non-professional sample were more likely to say "money is tight," managers and professionals were more likely to say that "money was not an issue"; and
- male and female respondents with dependent care responsibilities were more likely to say that "money is tight," male and female respondents without dependent care responsibilities were more likely to say "money is not an issue."

This last finding is particularly interesting in light of the fact that, in this data set, dependent care status was not substantively associated with personal or family incomes. This suggests that those with dependent care responsibilities have more expenses than those without (i.e. things are tight at the same income levels).

4.6 Summary: Demographic Profile of Respondents

The 2001 survey sample is well distributed with respect to age, region, community size, job type, education, personal income, family income and family's financial well-being. In many ways, the demographic characteristics of the sample correspond to national data, suggesting that the results from this research can be generalized beyond this research. The demographic characteristics of the sample are very consistent with the social and economic changes presented in Chapter Two of this document. Approximately half of the respondents to the survey can be considered to be highly educated male and female knowledge workers. The majority of respondents are part of a dual-income family and indicate that they are able to "live comfortably" (but not luxuriously) on two full-time incomes. Respondents who belong to a traditional, male breadwinner family are in the minority (5% of total sample, 11% of the sample of men) and are outnumbered by respondents who are single parents. The fact that the traditional families tended to be headed by highly paid male managers and professionals suggests that this family arrangement is restricted to those with higher incomes.

The sample includes a substantial number of employees who may be at risk with respect to work–life conflict. The mean age of the respondents to this survey was 42.8, which puts them in the mid career/fast track stage of the career cycle, the "full-nest" stage of the life-cycle and the 40's transition stage of adult development. Each of these stages is associated with increased stress and greater work and family demands. Three quarters of the respondents to this survey are presently married or living with a significant other and 69% are part of a dual-income family. Eleven percent of the respondents are single parents. Twelve percent of the sample live in rural areas. One in three is a clerical and administrative employee with lower levels of formal education (i.e. reduced job mobility) and lower personal and family incomes. One quarter of the respondents indicated that money was tight in their family; 29% of respondents earned less than $40,000 per year and just over one-quarter lived in families with total family incomes that were lower than the Canadian average. One in three of the respondents had a high school education or less.

There were a number of interesting demographic and socio-economic differences associated with gender. The men in the sample were slightly older than the women, more likely to hold managerial and technical positions, more likely to be married (especially the men in managerial and professional positions and the men with dependent care responsibilities), more likely to have a university education, and more likely to earn more than $60,000 per year. The women in the sample, on the other hand, were more likely to work in clerical and administrative positions and to earn less than $40,000 per year. The data (i.e. the women in our sample in managerial, professional and technical positions were more highly educated than their male counterparts, the women in our sample earned less than the men even when education was controlled for) suggest that women who work for large firms have yet to achieve full equality with men at work.

The data also indicate that there is a strong association between socio-economic status and job type. Respondents in non-professional positions were more likely to have a high school education or less, receive lower financial remuneration, and say that "money is tight" in their family. The men and women in managerial and professional positions, on the other hand, were more likely to have a university education, be in families that earned at least $100,000 a year, and say that in their family "money was not an issue." The men and women in technical positions were more likely to have a college degree. Their personal and family incomes were very similar to those in non-professional positions.

There were few demographic differences within the sample that could be linked to sector. Those of note suggest that the not-for-profit sector differs in a number of key ways from the public and private sectors. The not-for-profit sector employs a higher proportion of highly educated professional employees. The men who work in this sector are older and highly paid. Respondents from the private sector, on the other hand, were younger than those working in the other sectors.

Finally, respondents with dependent care responsibilities differed in a number of interesting ways from those without dependent care responsibilities. Many of these differences were linked to gender. Respondents with dependent care were, on average, two years older. They were more likely to say that "money is tight" within their family, although their family incomes were essentially the same as those without dependent care responsibilities. Men with dependent care responsibilities were more likely than women with dependent care responsibilities to be married. Women without dependent care responsibilities had more formal education (45% with university education) than the women with dependent care responsibilities (35% with university). No such difference was observed in the male sample.

These findings suggest the following:

- dependent care increases financial strains within families, and
- professional women in Canada are delaying having children in order to focus their attention on their careers.

Chapter 5

Profile of Respondents: Dependent Care Responsibilities

Research has shown that employees who are responsible for the care of others are more likely to experience productivity losses from increased absences, tardiness and stress at home and on the job, and time-wasters such as excessive use of the phone. They are also more likely to have difficulties balancing work and family responsibilities and report higher levels of stress and role overload (Duxbury et al., 1992; Higgins, Duxbury, & Lee, 1993; Duxbury and Higgins, 1998). Responsibility for the care of three types of dependents—children, the elderly, and the disabled—are considered in this study. The data outlined in this chapter should give employers and policy makers an appreciation of the extent to which work–life conflict may be a problem for working Canadians with dependent care responsibilities, as they provide estimates of the proportion of Canadians with each of these types of care working for large organizations who are at risk of high work–life conflict.

5.1 Parental Status

As noted in Chapter Three, a large body of research links the parental responsibilities of working couples to the incidence of work–family conflict. To get a better comprehension of the dependent care demands experienced by those participating in this research, we asked respondents to indicate the number of children they had, the age of these children and how much responsibility they personally had for child care.

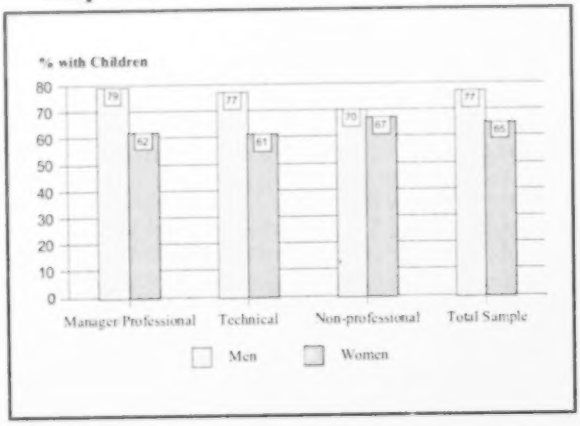
The Majority of Employed Canadians Are Parents

Census data[39] indicate that two thirds of Canadians are parents. A similar percentage of our sample (70%) have children. As shown in Figure 11, the men in the sample were more likely to have children than the women (77% of men are fathers while 65% of women are mothers). This gender difference in parental status could be observed in all sectors and all job types examined in the analysis and is consistent with the fact that a higher proportion of fathers work than mothers (Statistics Canada, 2000).

Professional Women Less Likely to Have Children; Professional Men More Likely

In our sample, parental status is associated with job type and gender (see Figure 11). One of the most interesting findings is that female respondents in managerial and professional (62%) and technical (61%) positions were less likely to have children than their counterparts in non-professional positions (67%). Men in managerial and professional (79%) and technical (77%) positions, on the other hand, were more likely to have children than their non-professional counterparts (70%). These data are consistent with other data collected in this study. For example, 40% of the women in managerial and professional positions in this sample agreed that they had not yet started a family because of their career (versus 20% of those in the total sample) and that they have had fewer children because of the demands of their work (versus 22% of the rest of the sample). It would appear from these data that many women managers and professionals working for larger Canadian organizations find that motherhood and career advancement are not compatible goals.

Figure 11
Sample Distribution: Parental Status by Job Type

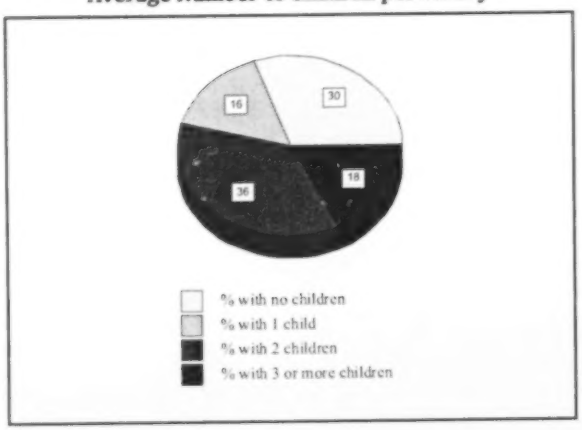


39 Statistics Canada. (1997). 1996 Census, Nation Series Copyright. Cat. No. 93F0022XDB96008.

Parents Have an Average of Two Children

The average number of children for parents in the sample is 2.1. Sixteen percent of the sample had only one child while one in five respondents had three or more children (see Figure 12). The number of children in a family was not associated with gender, sector or job type.

Figure 12
Average Number of Children per Family



Age of Children

The concept of life-cycle stage is used to consider the variations in work- and family-role demands encountered during adulthood. It is well established that work–family conflict increases as one's obligations to the family expand through marriage and the arrival of children (Higgins, Duxbury and Lee, 1994). The literature suggests, however, that many of these conflicts will decrease as the age of the youngest child increases.[40] Parents of young dependent children (especially mothers) are considered to be at higher risk with respect to stress because they have a greater number of often unpredictable family demands (e.g. arrangement of child care, day-care pick-up and drop-off, care of sick child). As the children get older, however, demands (especially those related to child care) should decrease, resulting in increased levels of control and lower stress for the parents.

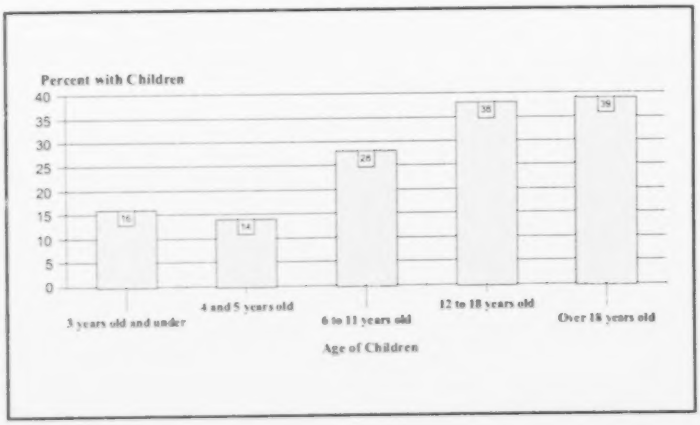
One in Three Employees Has Young Children at Home

Approximately 16% of the respondents to this survey had children under age 3 at home and 14% had children between the ages of 4 and 5 years (see Figure 13). One in four respondents had children between the ages of 6 and 11 and almost 40% were the parents of 12 to 18 year olds. These data are consistent with those reported by the Vanier Institute (1998), which reports that, in 1995, 38% of Canadian families had children under age 7 at home. While the years with preschool children have traditionally been thought to be the most costly (both psychologically and economically) for families, recent evidence would also suggest that many parents find the teen years to be stressful and challenging (Duxbury and Higgins, 2001).

Parents of Older Children Less Likely to Have Dependent Care Responsibilities

In this sample, age of children is not associated with gender, sector or job type. It is, however, associated with dependent care status. Both the men and the women in this sample who did not have dependent care responsibilities (i.e. spend less than an hour a week in child care) were more likely to have children who were over the age of 18.

Figure 13
Percent of Sample with Children by Age Category of Children



40 Karasek's job-strain model (1979) is often used to explain this relationship. This model predicts that stress is greatest when demands are high but control over these demands are low.

Responsibility for Child Care

In considering the division of labour within the home, a distinction should be made between participation in domestic activities and responsibility for these activities. When both spouses work, husbands may share in the household tasks, but domestic roles usually remain the principal responsibility of the wife. Responsibility rather than time spent in a role is linked to increased perceptions of stress.

A parent who is responsible for child care is accountable within the family for their children's supervision and well-being. Such a parent has been found to experience significantly greater stress and tension than the parent who "helps out" (Duxbury et al., 1992; Higgins, Duxbury, & Lee, 1993; Duxbury and Higgins, 1998). This increase in stress is associated with the greater number of worries connected with responsibility (e.g. worries about choosing and maintaining child care arrangements, purchasing children's clothing, overseeing children's homework).

Both Men and Women Agree That Women Are More Likely to Be Responsible for Child Care

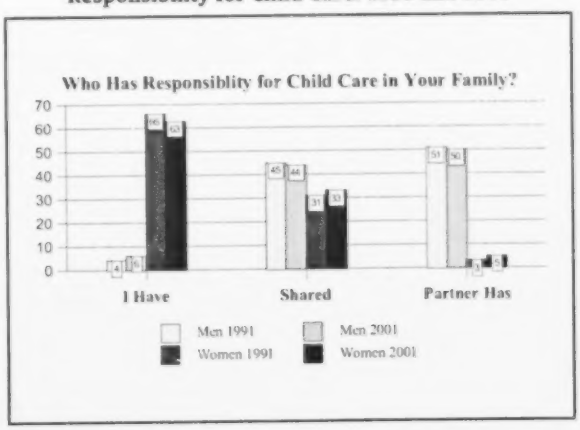
Respondents were asked to indicate who in their family had the main responsibility for the day-to-day care of the children. Responses can be found in Figure 14. Both the men and the women in this sample indicated that it was the female in the family who had the main responsibility for child care. Female respondents indicated they had primary responsibility in 63% of the cases. Men concurred with this evaluation of the situation with 50% of the male respondents indicating that their spouse had primary responsibility for child care. Men were more likely than women to perceive that responsibility for child care within their family was shared (44% of the men in the sample held this perception versus 33% of the women). This pattern of perceived responsibility was consistent across sector and job type.

This Gender Difference in Responsibility for Child Care Has Not Changed Over Time

It is both interesting and instructive to examine how perceived responsibility for child care has changed over time. A comparison of the 1991 and 2001 data (see Figure 14) shows that little has changed in this regard during the decade. While women have now assumed greater responsibility for the financial health of the family, Canadian men do not appear to have assumed a concomitant share of responsibility for the care of their children. These data suggest that while Canadian men may now spend more time in child care than previously (see time in child care data in Chapter Eight), the responsibility for this role still rests primarily with the women (i.e. men are "helping" women with child care). This is an important observation as responsibility for a role has been found to have a stronger positive association with stress than time spent in role-related activities (Higgins, Duxbury and Lee, 1994).

The fact that men who are married to women who hold managerial and professional positions are no more likely than their peers who are married to non-professionals to say they share responsibility for child care is particularly interesting, as it suggests that many Canadian families still ascribe to traditional gender roles. It is also consistent with the fact that the women managers and professionals in our sample were more likely to say that they had either not had children or had limited the size of their family in order to further their careers. A greater sharing of child-rearing responsibilities at home would, perhaps, reduce the need for women in these positions to have to make these kinds of choices.

Figure 14
Responsibility for Child Care: 1991 and 2001



5.2 Elder Care Responsibilities

Dependent care is not just a question of care for children. Concern over elder care responsibilities is now increasing. Elder care is defined as providing some type of assistance with the daily living activities for an elderly relative who is chronically ill, frail or disabled. As noted in Chapter Two, the number of workers with adult caregiver responsibilities is growing rapidly as the parents of baby boomers enter their 60s, 70s and 80s. The 1996 Census[41] estimated that 17% of Canadians had some form of elder care responsibilities (10.8% spent less than 5 hours per week providing elder care, 6.2% spent more than 5 hours per week providing care). Since the recent growth in the female workforce involves comparatively younger women whose parents are not yet old enough to require daily assistance, society has yet to feel the full effects of elder care problems.

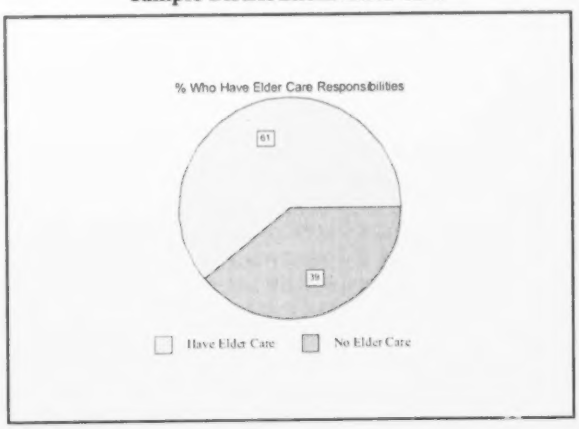
Elder care is often complicated by distance as elderly parents may live in different communities. Family members who provide "indirect" care, such as frequent visits, phone calls and general management of the elder's affairs from afar, have been found to experience tremendous feelings of guilt and increased stress (BNA, 1988). Research suggests that the majority of people who provide elder care have had to make lifestyle changes since becoming care providers, including spending less time with their own family, paying less attention to their own health, and taking fewer vacations (BNA, 1989). Although only about 10% of elder caregivers had to quit their jobs to care for an elder relative, between 20% and 40% had to rearrange work schedules, reduce their work hours or take unpaid time off. As the baby-boom generation moves toward middle age, and their parents toward old age, employees with such conflicts (often mature employees with substantial work demands) will increase in number.

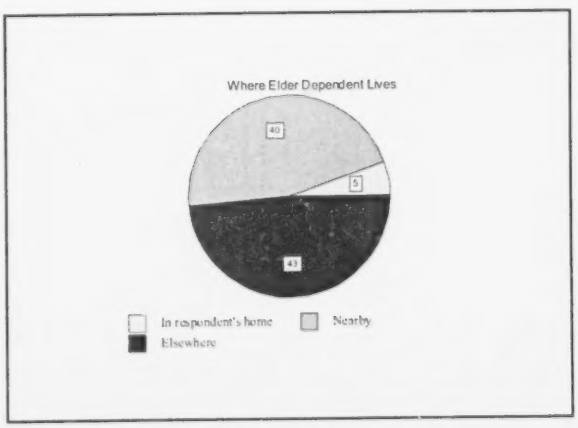
To get a better comprehension of the dependent care demands experienced by those participating in this research, we asked respondents to indicate the number of elder dependents they cared for, the type of elder care they had, and how much responsibility they personally had for elder care.

Over 60% of Respondents Had Some Form of Elder Care

Data on the elder care responsibilities of those responding to this survey are shown in Figure 15. Sixty-one percent of survey respondents had elder care responsibilities. Respondents with elder care typically had responsibility for 2.3 dependents. There were no gender, job type or sectorial differences with respect to these data. Not surprisingly (given how this variable was defined), both male and females with dependent care status were more likely to have elder care responsibilities than those who did not.

Figure 15
Sample Distribution: Elder Care





41 Statistics Canada. (1998). 1996 Census. Nation Tables. Cat. No. 93-357-XPB.

Percentage of Employees with Elder Care Responsibilities Has Increased Over the Decade

Elder care is more of an issue in 2001 than it was in 1991. In 1991, only 5% of survey respondents spent more than an hour a week on elder care. In 2001, on the other hand, 31% of respondents spent this amount of time in elder care.

Most Respondents Care for an Elder Dependent Who Lives Nearby or Elsewhere

Respondents were asked to indicate the number of elderly relatives for whom they had responsibility who lived in their homes, who lived nearby (i.e. within a short drive) and lived elsewhere. While almost two thirds of the respondents had some type of elder care responsibility, only a small percentage of the respondents to this study (5%) cared for elderly family members at home. A higher proportion of the sample cared for elderly relatives who lived nearby (30%) or elsewhere (43%). These findings are consistent with those reported by the Vanier Institute (1994), which found it is common for aging seniors to live on their own but look to family members for one kind of support or another.

Time in Elder Care Decreases When Elderly Relative Lives Elsewhere

With a few minor exceptions, the type of elder care a respondent had was not associated with gender, job type or sector. The men and women in the sample with dependent care responsibilities were more likely to have an elderly relative in their home and nearby. Those without dependent care were more likely to have elder care "elsewhere." This would suggest that elder care demands (measured as time in the role) decrease as the distance between the elderly relative and the family member with responsibility increases. This does not, however, mean that the stresses associated with the role will necessarily decrease (i.e. anxiety over the elderly dependent may increase with distance).

Responsibility for Elder Care

As noted previously, dependent care is not just a question of care for children. Increasingly, more workers are caring for their elderly relatives or loved ones, and the stress in doing so is similar to that felt by working parents who must arrange child care. According to the BNA (1988), 80% of the care needed by the elderly is provided by the family. Of those family members helping elders, most are female spouses or middle-aged daughters or daughters-in-law. Grocery shopping, transportation and housework are the types of help given most frequently by care providers (BNA, 1989) and these tasks take 10 to 20 hours per week (BNA, 1989). Little direct outside support is currently in place for those with elder care responsibilities. In fact, as the BNA (1989) notes, "Elder care can be the equivalent of taking on a second job for those who work outside the home."

Women Were More Likely to Think That They Have Responsibility for Elder Care

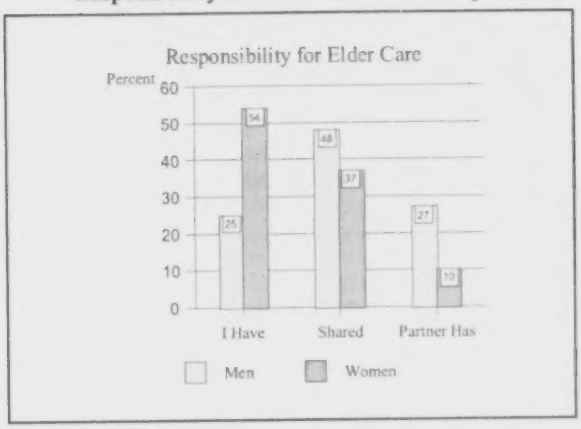
Respondents were asked to indicate who in their family had the main responsibility for the day-to-day arrangements for the care of elderly dependents. Responses can be found in Figure 16. The responses women gave to this question were very similar to those they gave with respect to child care. The majority of female respondents (54%) felt that they had the primary responsibility for elder care. Just over a third of female respondents (37%) felt responsibility was shared. One in ten women acknowledged that her partner had primary responsibility for elder care. These responses were very similar to those observed with respect to child care (63% of females felt they had primary responsibility, 33% felt it was shared and 5% felt their partner had responsibility).

Men More Likely to Think Responsibility for Elder Care Is Shared

The men in the sample appear to have a quite different perception of the amount of responsibility they assume for elder care as compared to child care. The men in the sample were more likely than the women to feel that elder care responsibilities in their families were shared (48% gave this response) or that they had primary responsibility (25% of men gave this response). Only 27% of the men in the sample felt that their female partner had primary responsibility for elder care.

This pattern of perceived responsibility (the men in the sample crediting themselves with more responsibilities for elder care than the females attributed to them) was observed across all three sectors and all three job types. It is difficult to determine what is behind these gender differences. It may be that men indeed are more likely to assume responsibility for the care of their own parents (i.e. assume responsibility when female has no blood or emotional ties to the elderly relative). Alternatively, it may be that men, who are not used to the role of elder care provider, are more likely to over-estimate the amount of time they devote to the care of elderly family members.

Figure 16
Responsibility for Elder Care: 2001 Sample



5.3 Responsibility for the Care of a Disabled Relative

In 1991, Statistics Canada estimated that there were 2.3 million adults in Canada aged 15 to 64 with a disability (defined as "a condition lasting six months or more which restricts or limits one's ability to perform an activity in the manner or the range considered normal"). This represented 13% of the population in this age range in 1991. It also estimated that 7% of children under age 15 living in private households in Canada were disabled. The vast majority of individuals with a disability lived with their families. People with disabilities often have special needs. Living with a disability can be hard and the effects on the family profound (Vanier Institute, 1994). Despite the range of services currently available, the strain on the family of caring for a dependent with disabilities is particularly acute (Vanier Institute, 1994a).

One in Eight Respondents Was Responsible for the Care of a Disabled Relative

In the survey, we asked respondents to indicate the number of disabled relatives (excluding the elderly) for whom they had responsibility: (1) living in their homes, (2) living nearby (i.e. within a short drive), and (3) living elsewhere. Thirteen percent were responsible for the care of a disabled dependent. Three percent of the respondents cared for a disabled relative in their own home, and 10% cared for a disabled relative who lived nearby or elsewhere. The likelihood of having responsibility for a dependent with a disability was equally distributed throughout the sample (i.e. not associated with gender, sector, job type or dependent care status).

5.4 Sandwich Generation

Employees who have responsibility for dependent children and aging parents are known as the "sandwich generation" to reflect the fact that they are often caught in the middle of competing demands (Vanier Institute, 1994a). The trend toward women delaying childbearing until they are established in their career suggests that dependent care (both children and elderly) may become more of an issue in the next decade as a greater number of families find themselves caring for young children and elderly parents. In 1991, 1.6% of all families in Canada had dependent children and an elderly relative living with them (Vanier Institute, 1994a).

One in Ten Employees Is Part of the Sandwich Generation

We calculated the number of respondents who spent at least an hour each week in child care and elder care and used it as a conservative proxy for the percentage of the sample who were in the sandwich generation. This calculation indicated that 13% of respondents (approximately one in ten) fell into this grouping. This is an important finding as employees in this group typically experience extraordinary challenges balancing work and family demands. The likelihood of being a member of the sandwich group is not associated with gender, job type or sector. It is, however, linked to dependent care status as one in four of the men and women with dependent care responsibilities is in the sandwich generation.

5.5 Summary: Dependent Care Responsibilities of the Respondents

The majority of employees in the 2001 survey sample have responsibilities outside of work. Seventy percent are parents (average number of children for parents in the sample is 2.1); 60% have elder care (average number of elderly dependents is 2.3); 13% have responsibility for the care of a disabled relative; 13% have both child care and elder care demands (i.e. are part of the sandwich generation). The fact that these data on non-work demands correspond closely to national data provided by Statistics Canada and the Vanier Institute suggests that the findings from this study can be generalized to all Canadians working for large firms.

Dependent care responsibilities do not depend on either job type or sector. They do, however, vary considerably by gender. The men in the sample were more likely to have children than the women (77% of men are fathers while 65% of women are mothers). Closer examination of the data shows that this gender difference in parental status is

due to the fact that the women in professional and technical positions in this sample were less likely to have children than their counterparts in non-professional positions. The opposite results were observed for the men in our sample (i.e. men in professional and technical positions were more likely to have children than their non-professional counterparts). Why are professional women less likely to have children? The data would suggest that motherhood and career advancement are not perceived by many of the professional women in the sample to be compatible goals. Just under half of the managerial and professional women in the sample agreed that they had not yet started a family because of their career or (for those women with children) that they had fewer children because of the demands of their work.

While it is tempting to conclude from these data that professional women need their organizations to be more sensitive to and supportive of work–life balance, the data suggest that changes also need to occur at home. For example, responsibility for child care is not associated with job type. The majority of men and women in both the 1991 and 2001 samples agree that the female partner had the primary responsibility for child care in their family. The majority of men and women in our sample who were part of a dual-career family (i.e. the wife held a professional position) also held this view. In other words, professional men who are married to professional women are no more likely to assume additional responsibilities at home than men who are married to women in less demanding jobs. Greater sharing of child-rearing responsibilities at home would, perhaps, reduce the need for professional women to have to choose between a career and becoming a mother.

While child care still appears to be considered by many men to be "woman's work," the data would suggest that they are less likely to hold this view with respect to elder care. The majority of female respondents did feel that they had the primary responsibility for elder care. However, they were much more likely to acknowledge that in their family elder care was shared or that it was their partner's responsibility than they were to feel this way about child care. The men in the sample were also more likely to feel that elder care, as compared to child care, was shared.

The data reviewed in this chapter also give us additional information on the factors associated with spending time in dependent care. In this sample, the following factors were associated with greater dependent care: having children living at home, having an elderly relative living with you or nearby, having primary responsibility for child care, elder care, or both (in this sample, one in four of the men and women with dependent care responsibilities was in the sandwich generation).

Chapter 6

Profile of Respondents: Characteristics of Work

To understand an employee's ability to balance work and life, it is necessary to appreciate the constraints imposed and opportunities available in two domains: work and non-work. The previous chapter described the key features of the respondent's non-work life. This chapter provides similar information with respect to the individual's work. The following data are discussed in this chapter: supervisory status, time in current organization, time in current position, union status, and work arrangement. These work variables have all been linked by previous researchers to the ability to balance work and life. It should be noted that job type itself (perhaps the most important work characteristic) was discussed in Chapter Two of this report. This section of the report does, however, examine the extent to which job type is associated with other key work characteristics.

6.1 Supervisory Status

All employees, whether they work in profit-oriented, not-for-profit or public-sector organizations, can be divided into two main categories: non-managerial (also known as non-exempt, workers, associates, rank and file) and managerial (also known as exempt or supervisors) (Gillespie, 1989). All organizations or groups with two or more people will have some form of supervisory activity. In fact, the term "supervisor," when used in a general sense refers to any person in an organization's hierarchy who has two or more persons reporting to him or her. A supervisor as defined by the Taft-Hartley Labour Management Relations Act of 1947 is:

> "any individual having authority in the interest of the employer to hire, transfer, suspend, lay off, recall, promote, discharge, assign, reward or discipline other employees, or responsibility to direct them or to adjust their grievances, or effectively to recommend such action" (Gillespie, 1989, p. 12).

It is difficult to determine *a priori* what type of impact supervisory status will have on work–life conflict as the literature has identified both advantages and disadvantages associated with this position. Those who supervise others usually have higher work demands and greater responsibility—factors which are associated with higher work–life conflict. On the other hand, those who supervise others typically work in higher quality jobs, receive greater remuneration, have a higher level of autonomy and control, and more flexibility around when and where they work. While some dimensions of the supervisory role are associated with higher job stress (i.e. disciplining or firing employees, giving negative feedback), others can be personally rewarding (i.e. coaching and mentoring).

The number of employees who can be supervised effectively by one person is known as the span of control. Spans of control may range from a few people to many. When many employees report to one supervisor, the span is considered wide. When few employees report to one supervisor, the span is narrow. Typically, the wider the span of control, the greater the job demands and the higher the potential for increased job stress.

In this research, supervisory status was determined by asking respondents if they supervised the work of others. Those who responded yes were asked to indicate the number of employees whose work they supervised.

Men More Likely to Supervise the Work of Others

Overall, 35% of respondents supervised the work of others. The average span of control for supervisors in the sample was 20 employees (a fairly wide span of control). To put this span of control into perspective, it can be noted that the supervisors in the 1991 study had six direct reports. Men were almost twice as likely as women to supervise others (46% of the men in the sample and 27% of the women supervised the work of others). This gender difference in supervisory status was observed in all three sectors and in all job types.

Table 9
Supervisory Status: Impact of Job Type

	Manager/Professional		Technical		Non-professional	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
% who supervise others	58	40	27	18	32	17
Span of control	28	16	8	4	21	10

Male Supervisors Have Higher Spans of Control

Male supervisors in the sample had, on average, 25 people who reported directly to them (i.e. direct reports)—twice as many as the number reported by the female supervisors in the sample (13). This ratio (men supervisors had spans of control which were twice as large as female supervisors) was observed in all three sectors and across all three job types. When taken in concert, these data suggest that the men in the sample who supervise others are more likely to be at the middle to top of the hierarchy while women are more likely to be front-line supervisors and middle managers.

Professionals More Likely to Supervise the Work of Others

Supervisory status and span of control are both strongly associated with job type (Table 9). The managers and professionals in the sample were more than twice as likely as their counterparts in technical and non-professional positions to be in a supervisory position. Managers and professionals who supervised others had the largest spans of control; technical employees had the smallest.

6.2 Work Experience

Two questions were used in this survey to assess an employee's work experience. Respondents were asked how long (in years) they had worked for their current organization and how long (in years) they had held their present job. Traditionally, organizational tenure has been positively correlated with higher levels of organizational commitment and loyalty to the organization and negatively correlated to job stress as the employee "learns the ropes" and discovers how to cope with uncertainty on the job. In this study, however, the impact of years with the organization may be confounded by the fact that those who have greater organizational tenure are also more likely to be "survivors" of the downsizing of the 1990s (i.e. survivors may be less loyal and report higher job stress due to increased work demands and lower levels of job security).

Years in current position has traditionally been used to assess career mobility. While the optimal number of years in one job depends on the employee and his or her career aspirations, previous research suggests that employees who have spent a relatively short period of time in their current job (i.e. under a year) may experience higher stress as they learn the new position. On the other hand, those who have spent a relatively long time in one job (e.g. over 4 years) are often frustrated and feel that they are not fulfilling their career potential.

"Survivors" Responded to the Survey

In this sample, respondents have been working at their present organization for an average of 13.9 years and in their current job for an average of 7.3 years. In other words, Canada's largest employers have a relatively stable workforce and need to do more with respect to career development.

Male respondents have been with their organization a significantly longer period of time than female respondents (15.7 years on average for men versus 12.6 years for women). These gender differences may be due to a younger female workforce, greater voluntary turnover for women (e.g. they chose to leave the organization to have a child), greater involuntary turnover for women (e.g. women were more likely than men to lose their positions during downsizing) or some combination of the above. There were no gender differences in the data with respect to time in current position.

Career Development an Issue for Women in the Not-for-Profit Sector

When gender is controlled for, time with organization and time in current position is not associated with job type or dependent care status. Time in current position is associated with sector for the females in the sample. Examination of the data reveal that the women in the not-for-profit sector sample have spent substantially more years in their current position (8.6) than their female counterparts in the public-sector (6.7) and private-sector (5.8) samples. This would suggest that career

development is more of a concern for women in the not-for-profit sector.

Job Mobility Higher in the Private Sector

Years with current employer is associated with sector in the male sample. These data indicate that the men in the private-sector sample have spent fewer years with their current employer (13.0) than men in the not-for-profit (17.5) or public sector (15.4). This finding may be due to any number of reasons, including the following:

- men in the private sector were more likely to lose their jobs during downsizing and restructuring initiatives,
- lateral mobility (i.e. between organizations) is more common within the private sector than in the public and not-for-profit sectors,
- men who work in the not-for-profit and public sectors are more likely to have skills that are not transferable between organizations or sectors,
- men in the public and not-for-profit sectors are more loyal to their employer than their private-sector counterparts, or
- the benefit structure in the not-for-profit and public sectors penalizes those who leave (i.e. "golden handcuffs").

6.3 Union Status

We also asked respondents to indicate if they were a member of a union. Unionized workers generally receive higher wages, greater non-wage benefits and, in many respects, better work arrangements than non-unionized workers. In addition to the above, they are typically less likely to have to work weekends and work fewer hours per week, and are more likely to receive premium pay for this work (Akyeampong, 1997). This would suggest that unionized workers would be better able to balance work and family demands than their peers who are non-unionized.

Who in Canada is more likely to belong to a union? Work by Statistics Canada (Akyeampong, 1997) provides the following answers. Nationally, union density (% of those in the profession who are part of a union) is highest among men, older workers, those with higher education and longer tenure, workers in professional positions, workers in public-sector and Crown corporations, and those in larger firms.

Half the Sample Is Unionized

Statistics Canada reported that in 1996, 31% of employed Canadians belonged to a union (Akyeampong, 1997). Half of the respondents to this survey belong to a union. This difference in union membership is consistent with sample make-up (i.e. our sample is drawn from larger businesses, and has a high proportion of professionals and employees who work in the not-for-profit and government sectors—all groups that are more likely to be unionized).

The relationships between gender, job type and sector observed in this sample (see Table 10) are very consistent with those made by Statistics Canada. Overall, the women in the sample were more likely than the men to belong to a union (57% versus 42%). While the women in the public and not-for-profit sector samples were more likely than the men to be unionized, the reverse was true in the private-sector sample (men more likely to be unionized). The public-sector sample was the most heavily unionized while the private-sector sample had the lowest levels of unionization. Professionals were less likely to belong to a union than their counterparts in technical and non-professional positions.

Table 10
Union Membership: Impact of Sector and Job Type

	% Who Belong to a Union	
	Men	Women
Public sector	57%	69%
Private sector	30%	20%
Not-for-profit sector	25%	54%
Manager/professional	32%	47%
Technical	60%	55%
Non-professional	52%	57%
Total sample	42%	57%

6.4 Work Arrangement

There is nothing inherently magical about the traditional five-day, 40-hour "fixed" work week. A number of researchers, in fact, feel that many organizations use this schedule solely as a result of tradition. Organizations have recently become interested in alternative ways to schedule work. The literature mentions nine factors that have played an instrumental role in this development: (1) an increase in the number of women participating in the workforce; (2) interest in and adoption of new lifestyles; (3) an increase in the number of single-parent and dual-provider households; (4) new relationships between work and education; (5) the aging of the workforce; (6) the growth of the service sector of the economy; (7) the pressures of unemployment and inflation; (8) a change in the way people perceive both work and leisure time, and (9) technological conditions have created a favourable climate in Canada for computer-based work to be done at home (Johnson et al., 1997). Despite the fact that increasing numbers of employees want flexible work arrangements, "resistance is strong and obstacles are many. Upper management is reluctant to introduce change; unions are reluctant to negotiate some arrangements (i.e. telework, part-time work); supervisors find it difficult to manage workers on flexible arrangements; and employees who cannot participate are often resentful of those who can" (BNA, 1989: p. 24).

In an excellent review of the literature on the use of alternative work arrangements in Canada, Johnson et al. (1997) noted that access to employee-supportive work arrangements in Canadian workplaces is low. Data drawn from the 1995 Canadian Labour Force Survey of Work Arrangements (SWA) (Akyeampong, 1997) provide the most recent and representative estimate of the availability of supportive work arrangements in Canadian workplaces. These data indicate that flextime, the most common employee-supportive option, is available to only one in four Canadian workers. The next most prevalent option is the part-time schedule, available to one in five workers. Unfortunately, the analysis of the SWA data does not tell us whether part-time work is voluntary or whether or not employees are provided benefits for their work. Telework is reported by fewer than one in ten employees. Johnson et al. (1997) also found that initiatives which involve work schedule flexibility are much more prevalent than those which involve work location flexibility (i.e. flextime and reduced hours arrangements are more commonly available than work-at-home arrangements). This pattern suggests that modifying work's traditional "physical" boundaries may be a taller order for organizations than modifying its temporal boundaries.

Measurement of Alternative Work Arrangements

Three questions were used in this study to determine the type of work arrangements used by the organizations that participated in this study. Respondents were asked to fill in the phrase that best described how their work was arranged. They were offered the following response options:

- *Regular*: You work a set number of hours each week, arriving and departing at the same time each day
- *Flextime*: You vary your arrival and departure times around a "core" time when you should be at work
- *Compressed Work Week* (CWW): You get one working day off every week or two in return for longer hours
- *Part Time*: You work a reduced number of hours each week
- *Job Sharing*: You share the same job with another on a part-time basis
- *Work-at-home/Telework*: You spend part of your regular work week working at home
- *Other*: Your schedule does not conform to any of the above.

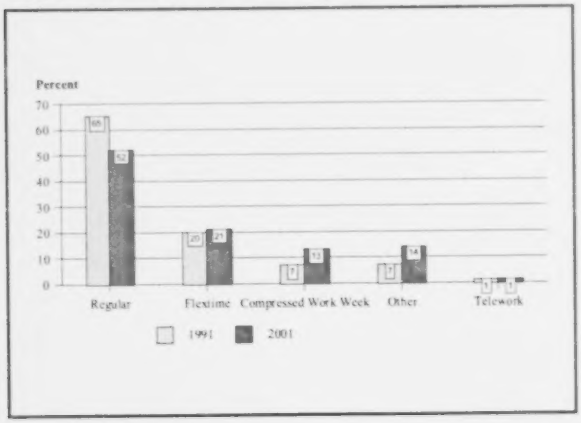
To assess the extent to which employees were allowed to work from home on an informal basis (i.e. commonly referred to as "guerilla telework"), we asked employees to indicate if they spend any time working at home during regular hours. Those respondents who indicated yes were asked to indicate the average number of hours per week that they engaged in such activities. Finally, we asked respondents to indicate if they worked a fixed shift, a rotating shift or no shift at all. The data obtained with respect to each of these questions are given below.

The Use of Flexible Work Arrangements in Canada's Larger Organizations Is Relatively Low

Data on the use of alternative work arrangements in the organizations that participated in this study are given in Figure 17. These data are very similar to those obtained by Statistics Canada in 1995 and lead to the same conclusion: the use of flexible work arrangements in Canada is relatively low. Just over half (52%) of the respondents worked a "regular" work day (i.e. little to no formal flexibility with respect to arrival and departure times; no work location flexibility); 21% worked flextime (approximately the same percentage as reported in the 1995 SWA); 13% worked a CWW and 14% worked "atypical" schedules. Formal job-sharing and telework

programs were rare. Only 1.3% of the sample job shared; 1% formally worked from home.

Figure 17
Use of Alternative Work Arrangements: 1991 and 2001



Managers and Professionals More Likely to Work Flextime Arrangements

The use of alternative work arrangements is not associated with gender. It does, however, vary by job type (see Figure 18). The following observations can be made with respect to the relationship between job type and work arrangement:

- managers and professionals (regardless of gender) are more likely to use flextime work arrangements and less likely to work a regular schedule, and
- non-professionals (regardless of gender) are more likely to work a regular work day and less likely to use flextime.

It is interesting to note that the use of work arrangements is not associated with dependent care status. This finding suggests that many employees who have greater need for such arrangements do not have access to them. It also suggests that organizations still persist in ignoring family circumstances when designing work schedules. In other words, the myth of separate worlds still appears to be the operating principle in many of Canada's largest employers.

Use of Flextime Arrangements Higher in Private Sector

The use of the various work arrangements is also associated with sector of employment (see Table 11). These data indicate that respondents in the not-for-profit sector are more likely to use work arrangements that make work–life balance more problematic (atypical) while those in the private sector are more likely to use arrangements that enhance work–life balance (flextime).

Figure 18
Use of Alternative Work Arrangements by Gender and Job Type

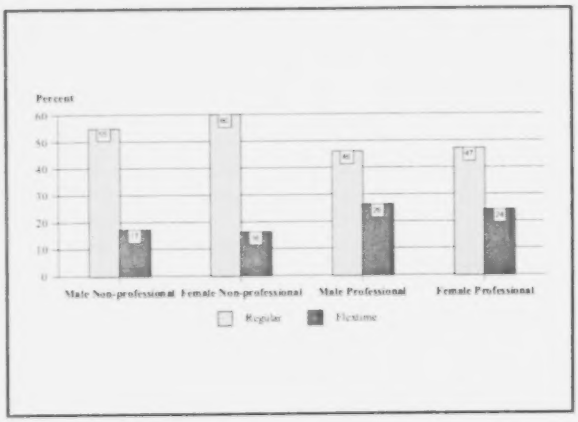


Table 11
Use of Work Arrangement by Sector

	Public Sector		Private Sector		Not-for-Profit Sector	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Regular	50%	50%	48%	58%	50%	56%
Flextime	20%	17%	35%	27%	19%	17%
CWW	17%	24%	3%	4%	8%	5%
"Other"	12%	6%	13%	10%	22%	21%

Note: Totals may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Only 1% of Respondents Formally Telework, but One in Eight Guerilla Telework

Guerilla telework is work at home that is done on an informal basis. Our previous work in the area indicates that many managers who are reluctant to allow employees to formally telework are comfortable allowing "good" performers to work from home informally on a contingent basis (Duxbury and Higgins, 1998).

Twelve percent of respondents work at home during regular hours (i.e. perform guerilla telework), a substantially higher number than those who formally telework (1%)! Respondents who perform guerilla telework spend approximately 8.9 hours per week in such activities (i.e. a day at home a week).[42] Respondents in the following groups were more likely to engage in guerilla telework: men in the private sector (18%), managers and professionals (15%) and respondents without dependent care responsibilities (16%). The latter finding is interesting in that it refutes the perception that parents are more likely to work from home when their children are sick. In fact, these findings support research which indicates that telework cannot be considered as a substitute for child care and that employees find it difficult to work from home if their children are there.

Shift Work

Rapidly evolving business environments, demographic changes in the markets and global competition often mean that companies that want to be competitive have to change how they schedule work. Thanks to new technology, many companies can now offer their services or produce their goods on a 24-hour basis if they schedule their employees to work evenings or weekends (CLMPC, 1997). Traditionally, shifts were worked by men in blue collar occupations. Now, however, shift work is being used in a much broader range of industries and occupations. According to the 1992 General Social Survey, approximately 23% of workers are engaged in shift work (Sunter, 1993). Shift work remains integral to work scheduling today as the range of jobs which require non-day work continues to increase, not only in manufacturing. Increasingly, shift arrangements are being revisited as a means to respond to competitive pressures (CLMPC, 1997). Consumer demand for round-the-clock convenience and entertainment promises that shift work will continue to play an important role in the economy in the near future (Johnson, 1997).

Women are now almost as likely to work shifts as men (Johnson, 1997). This presents challenges for families that must balance work schedules with child care. Canadian labour survey data from 1991 indicated that 41% of dual-income couples in Canada included at least one spouse who worked a non-day schedule. The most common pattern among these couples were for both partners to be employed full time with the wife working a day shift and the husband working a non-day shift (this pattern represented 29% of all shift-working couples).

One in Five Respondents Engages in Shift Work

Data on the use of shift work by the respondents to our survey are given in Table 12. These data show that approximately 20% of the sample work some form of shift arrangement. This is virtually identical to the percentage of employees who work shifts nationally. Rotating shift arrangements are the most common (used by 15% of the sample). Only 6% of respondents work a fixed shift.

42 The amount of time spent in guerilla telework by those who engage in such activities is not associated with gender differences, job type differences, dependent care status or sector.

Male Non-Professionals Were More Likely to Work Shifts

Male respondents in non-professional positions were more likely to work both a fixed (10%) and a rotating (20%) shift than the respondents in other job categories.

Shift Work Is Common in the Not-for-Profit Sector

Shift work is strongly associated with sector as shown in Table 12. Generally, those who work in the not-for-profit sector were twice as likely as their public- and private-sector counterparts to work the more stressful rotating shift arrangement. The women in the not-for-profit sector sample were more likely to work rotating shifts than the men in this sample. This finding is not surprising given the fact that hospitals were included in the not-for-profit sector sample.

Women with Dependent Care Responsibilities Less Likely to Work Shifts

Finally, it is interesting to note that women with dependent care status were less likely to work any type of shift than those without such responsibilities. No such differences were observed in the male sample. This finding provides support for the idea that women with dependent care responsibilities are more likely to choose not to work shifts.

Off-shifting Child Care

Researchers have observed that one out of ten full-time dual-income couples with children in the United States have no overlap whatsoever in their hours of employment. They have inferred from these data that shift work may be advantageous to couples with children in that it enables them to reduce dependence on non-parental care arrangements by "off-shifting" child care. The Canadian National Child Care Study reported similar findings. It reported that 17% of dual-income families in Canada deliberately worked off-shifts (i.e. spouses worked different shifts from each other) for child care purposes.[43]

To determine the extent to which employees who work for large Canadian organizations use "off-shifting," we asked respondents if they choose to work different hours from their partner in order to better manage child care or elder care responsibilities.

One in Three Respondents "Off-shifts"

Almost one third of the respondents (31%) indicated that they did in fact "off-shift" with their partner in order to better manage work and family responsibilities. The data suggest that "off-shifting" is a strategy used by men and those in managerial and professional positions to help them balance competing work and family demands. The men in the sample were more likely than women to off-shift (45% of men versus 25% of females off-shift) regardless of job type, sector or dependent care status. Male and female managers were more likely to use

Table 12
Use of Shift Schedule by Sector

	Total	Public Sector		Private Sector		Not-for-Profit Sector	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
No shift work	79%	87%	90%	83%	84%	61%	63%
Fixed shift	6%	4%	4%	7%	6%	12%	8%
Rotating shift	15%	9%	6%	10%	10%	27%	29%

43 See Johnson, 1997 for a review of this literature.

off-shifting than their counterparts in other jobs (45% of the male managers in our sample and 37% of the female managers and professionals used off-shifting versus 36% of male and 20% of female technicians and 29% of male and 16% of female non-professionals). Men with dependent care responsibilities were more likely to off-shift than men without such responsibilities (42% versus 25%). The likelihood of off-shifting was not associated with dependent care status for the females in the sample.

Use of Alternative Work Arrangements Remains Virtually Unchanged over the Decade

Figure 17 provides a comparison of the extent to which the various alternative work arrangements considered in this analysis were used by respondents to our 1991 study versus those in the 2001 sample. According to an article written in the *Financial Post*[44] a decade ago, the dictatorship of time—the power of the five-day, 9 to 5 schedule, which determines how people organize their lives—is eroding. Unfortunately, our data suggest that this erosion is not occurring fast enough to satisfy many public-, private- and not-for-profit sector employees who both want and need greater work-time and work-location flexibility. While the current needs of our society require a diversity of work schedules, the majority of Canadians in both the 1991 and 2001 samples work "regular" morning to late afternoon hours. While the proportion working a regular day has decreased by 13 percentage points, this decline has not resulted in a greater use of flexible work arrangements. Rather, we now have a higher percentage of employees working the less predictable "atypical" work day. The percentage of respondents using flextime and telework arrangements (the most desired flexible work arrangements) remained virtually unchanged over the decade. The percentage who work atypical arrangements (i.e. rotating shifts, split shifts, part time, temporary, irregular work) has, however, increased as has the percentage working a CWW.

6.5 Summary: Characteristics of Work

What do we know about the work environments of those who responded to the survey (and by extension the work environments of Canadians who work for larger organizations)? Half belong to unions. One in three supervises the work of others. The demands associated with supervision are substantial as the typical supervisor has a very wide span of control (an average of 20 direct reports). This span of control is significantly higher than observed in the 1991 sample (an average of 6 direct reports), a finding that is consistent with the fact that many organizations shed layers of management as part of their downsizing and restructuring initiatives. These data suggest that one consequence of this strategy is an increased workload for the supervisor that "survived" the downsizing.

With respect to span of control, it is interesting to note that men were almost twice as likely as women to supervise others and that they had higher spans of control. These data suggest that the men in the sample who supervise others are more likely to be at the middle to top of the hierarchy while women are more likely to be front-line supervisors and middle managers. This interpretation of the data is consistent with that drawn from the data reported in Chapter Four, Demographic Characteristics.

Despite the turbulence of the 1990s, the data from the 2001 survey would suggest that most Canadian employees make a long-term commitment to their employers; the average respondent has been working at his or her present organization for an average of 13.9 years. Unfortunately, the data also suggest that the rhetoric about the importance of continuous learning and career development has not translated into concrete actions in these areas. In fact, the average respondent in 2001 has been in his or her current job for an average of 7.3 years. These data would suggest that Canada's largest employers need to focus more on career development.

Earlier in the report (Chapter Two), we outlined the demographic changes that have altered the face of the Canadian workforce. The data reviewed in this section would suggest employers' sensitivity to how these changes have impacted their employees continues to lag behind the emergence of these concerns as an issue for employees. While the current needs of our society require a diversity of work schedules, the majority of Canadians in both the 1991 and 2001 samples work "regular" hours (i.e. little to no formal flexibility with respect to arrival and departure times; no work location flexibility). The percentage of respondents using the most desired "family-friendly" flexible work arrangements (flextime and telework) has not changed over the decade and remains relatively low (approximately 20% work flextime and 1% telework). In fact, for many Canadian employees, work schedules may have deteriorated over the decade as the percentage of the workforce who use work schedules known to increase work–life conflict and stress (i.e. rotating shifts, fixed shifts, atypical work arrangements) has increased. It is worthwhile noting, in fact, that in the 2001 sample, the same percentage of respondents work shifts (20%) as use flextime.

44 *Financial Post*. (May 20, 1991). "The 9-to-5 Routine Headed for Extinction," p. 15.

The data also indicate that access to flexible work arrangements is not evenly distributed throughout the workforce. Managers, professionals and private-sector employees are more likely to use flextime arrangements than non-professionals. Non-professionals and not-for-profit sector employees (especially the women in this sector), on the other hand, are more likely to engage in shift work. These data would suggest that alternative work arrangements are not equally available to all employees.

Further examination of the data indicate that those employees who have the greatest need for flexible work arrangements (i.e. parents and employees with elder care responsibilities) do not have access to them. This suggests that despite all the talk about "family friendly" and "employer of choice," the myth of separate worlds still appears to be the operating principle in many of Canada's largest employers. Organizations that insist on regular work schedules have the same expectations of employees (regardless of family situation) and fail to recognize the impact of the work domain on the family domain.

Why should organizations consider implementing flexible work arrangements? As noted in the introductory chapter to this report, whether or not an organization offers work-arrangement flexibility could turn out to be an important factor in its ability to recruit, retain and motivate top quality staff in the labour market of the new millennium. The research literature indicates that work-arrangement flexibility reduces stress by increasing an employee's ability to control, predict and absorb change in both the work and family settings. The use of such arrangements has also been linked to improved employee attitudes and morale, an increased ability to balance work and family demands, increased productivity, lower absenteeism and heightened commitment to the organization (Duxbury and Higgins, 1998).

It is also interesting to note that while few respondents formally telework, 12% engage in guerilla telework (i.e. informal work at home). This would suggest that work at home is possible (i.e. work can be done outside the regular office environment) and that employees do want to use such arrangements. These findings suggest that barriers to telework exist at the organizational level. Private-sector employees and employees without dependent care responsibilities are more likely to perform guerilla telework. The latter finding is interesting in that it refutes the perception that employees work at home so they do not have to arrange child care.

Finally, it is interesting to note that one in three respondents arranges their work schedule so that they and their partner can share child care (i.e. work a different shift from their partner so that they do not need to arrange any kind of child care). This strategy, typically referred to as "off-shifting," is a strategy that is primarily used by men in managerial and professional positions with dependent care responsibilities to help them balance competing work and family demands. While such arrangements may be beneficial to children, how they affect marriages and work–life conflict is still largely unknown.

Chapter 7
Profile of Respondents: Work Demands

Keeping a home and raising children or caring for an elderly dependent—as anyone who has ever done it knows—is a full-time job. The increasing rarity of the full-time homemaker has done more to reduce everyone's leisure time than any other factor. If both mother and father are working, someone still has to find time to make lunch, attend doctor appointments, shop for groceries and cook. Time at work is the single largest block of time which most people owe to others outside their family. Consequently, it is often the cornerstone around which the other daily activities must be made to fit. As a fixed commodity, time allocated to employment is necessarily unavailable for other activities, including time with the family. Thus, time spent at work offers an important and concrete measure of one dimension of employment that affects individuals and their families. When asked to identify their biggest concern in life, working parents typically respond "time."

This chapter is divided into four main sections. The measurement of work demands is discussed first. Time in work data are presented in section 2. This is followed by a discussion of travel demands in section 3. In both cases, comparisons over time are done where possible. Key findings are summarized in section 4.

7.1 Measurement of Work Demands

Time spent at work is a complex variable. Work may be full time, part time or overtime, completed at a central location or in one's home, and may involve one family member working at two jobs or two family members working at two jobs. Work demands have been defined in this study to include time in work, travel demands and total family work demands.

In both the 1991 and 2001 surveys, we measured time in work by asking respondents to tell us approximately how many hours they spent in work per week. We requested that this total include overtime at home and at the office. Overtime work was quantified in three ways in this study. To assess the amount of supplemental work done at home (i.e. unpaid overtime at home), we asked respondents how many hours per week they spent working at home outside their regular hours. We also asked respondents how often, in an average month, they would have to work paid overtime and unpaid overtime. To help us distinguish between voluntary and involuntary overtime, we asked respondents if they were able to refuse overtime if they chose. To assess the extent to which time in learning contributes to work–life conflict and work demands, we asked respondents to indicate approximately how many hours per week they spent in education opportunities, such as night courses and training for work.

Travel demands were quantified in four ways in this study. To assess the amount of time spent commuting per week, we asked respondents how many hours per week they spent driving or commuting to and from work. We also asked respondents how often, in an average month, work requirements would mean that they had to spend a weeknight away from home, spend a weekend night away from home and drive to another work site/client site. Employees who had engaged in job-related travel in the month prior to the study were asked how many days per month they had been away or how many hours per month they had spent driving to another site.

To give us a better idea of what is going on in the Canadian families represented in our sample (i.e. what kinds of work demands the family unit rather than the individual employee faces), we computed the total time in paid employment per week within the family[45] for those respondents who were married or living with a significant other (i.e. excluded single respondents).

7.2 Time in Work

Time at work is clearly an important factor with respect to an employee's ability to balance home and work demands. Data on three aspects of time in work (hours at work, overtime work and time in educational pursuits) are given below. Total hours spent at work each week is included as previous research in the area has found it to be the most reliable predictor of role overload, work–family

45 Calculated by adding the total amount of time the respondent spends per week in paid employment, work-related education and commuting to work plus the total number of hours spent in paid employment by the respondent's spouse. It should also be noted that we did not ask the respondent how much time per week his or her spouse spends commuting and in education. This means that the time in paid employment for the family is an underestimate of the actual total.

conflict and perceived stress (Duxbury and Higgins, 2001).

Why look at overtime? As noted in, Chapter Two, downsizing and restructuring have increased the work demands placed upon many employees who are now doing their job as well as parts of jobs which used to be done by workers who are no longer with the organization (Johnson et al., 1997). Employees with heavy work demands who cannot get their jobs done during regular work hours often have to work evenings and weekends to keep "caught-up." This overtime work can be paid or unpaid and done at home (supplemental work at home - SWAH) or at the office.

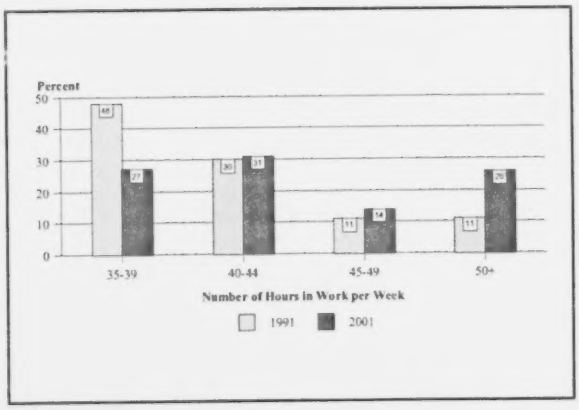
SWAH is hypothesized to have both advantages and disadvantages with respect to work–life conflict. On the plus side, those who perform SWAH should be more able to get home for meals with their family and mesh their work schedules with their family lives. On the negative side, those who frequently take work home to do in the evenings and weekends may be "seen" by supervisors and colleagues who focus on hours (not output) and presence at work (not performance) to be less dedicated to their jobs. Employees who regularly take work home to complete on their own time may also find it difficult to separate their work life from their family and personal life as the boundary between work and family blurs. Employees who perform a lot of SWAH may also have heavier work demands, along with the risks that this entails.

Time in education is also included in our assessment of work demands to reflect the fact that for many employees in today's labour force, job security and/or career advancement depends on their ability to remain current and to acquire the skills valued by their organization. The need to pursue educational opportunities (often on one's own time) may, therefore, place additional stress and time demands on already busy employees.

One in Four Respondents Spends 50+ Hours a Week in Work

The typical full-time respondent to the 2001 survey spent 42.2 hours in work per week. The sample is fairly well distributed with respect to hours spent in work per week (see Figure 19), with one in four respondents spending 35 to 39 hours per week and one in four spending 50 or more hours. One in three respondents spent between 40 and 44 hours in work per week.

Figure 19
Time in Work per Week: 1991 and 2001



Men Spend More Time in Work per Week Than Women

Men spent more hours per week in paid employment than women (44.1 hours versus 40.6). This gender difference in time in work per week can be seen in all sectors (see Figure 20) and all job types (see Figure 21).

Figure 20
Time in Work per Week: By Gender and Sector

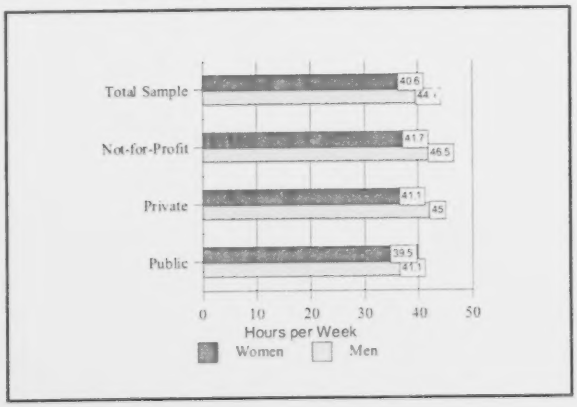
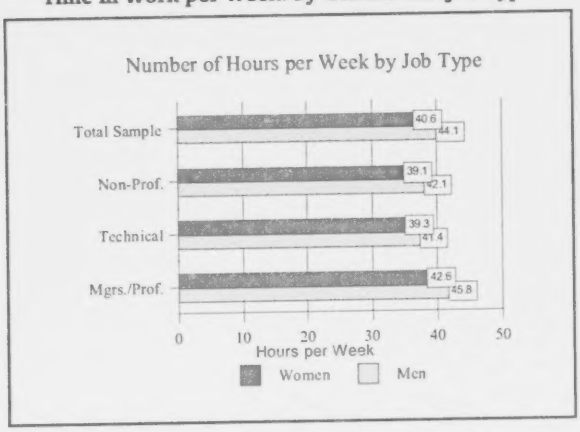


Figure 21
Time in Work per Week: By Gender and Job Type



When comparisons are done within gender (i.e. men compared to men, women compared to women), the following observations can be made about the impact that sector and job type have on time in work:

- Men and women in the public service sample spent less time in work per week than those in the not-for-profit and private-sector sample.
- Managers and professionals spent more time in work per week than those in technical or non-professional positions.
- Men in the not-for-profit sector sample and male managers and professionals spent the most time in paid employment per week.

Parents and Those with Elder Care Responsibilities Spend the Same Amount of Time in Paid Employment as Those Without Such Responsibilities

Time in work per week is not associated with dependent care status (i.e. mothers spent same time in work per week as women without children; fathers spent the same amount of time in work per week as men without children). Fathers, however, spent more time in paid work per week than mothers. These data suggest that men and women who have dependent care responsibilities have more demands on their time than those without such encumbrances (i.e. time in work the same but time spent in non-work activities higher).

Time in Work Has Increased Dramatically over the Decade

In the 1970s, experts were predicting that by 1985 people would work just 23 hours a week and retire at age 38. In the 1980s, the consensus was that new technology and innovation would be a panacea, providing a four-day work week and more leisure. Today, each of these predictions is laughable. A recent report by Statistics Canada (Statistics Canada, 1997f) suggests that, in the last decade, hours of work has become polarized with the share of workers working fewer than 35 hours (i.e. part time) increasing from 16% to 24% while those working more than 40 hours per week has risen from 19% to 22%. A survey commissioned by the Royal Bank in 1997 found that 30% of people were working longer hours than 10 years ago, 53% were working the same number of hours, and 16% were working less.

Our data show a very similar trend. Comparisons done using the 1991 and 2001 samples (minus those who worked part time) indicate that the percentage of employees working more than 50 hours per week has increased from 11% to 26% of the sample. In other words, whereas one in ten respondents in 1991 worked 50 or more hours per week, one in four does so now. Further examination of the data in Figure 19 indicates that the percentage of employees working between 35 and 39 hours per week (typically, employees are scheduled to work 37 or 38 hours per week; see Duxbury and Higgins, 1998) declined during this same time period from 48% of the sample to 27%.

Table 13
Time in Work per Week: 1991 and 2001

Hours in Work per Week	Men				Women			
	Professionals		Non-professionals		Professionals		Non-professionals	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
35 to 39	23%	11%	41%	23%	38%	18%	66%	48%
40 to 44	28%	25%	40%	39%	30%	34%	26%	34%
45 to 49	21%	19%	10%	15%	16%	17%	5%	9%
50 or more	28%	45%	9%	23%	16%	31%	3%	9%
	Dependents		No Dependents		Dependents		No Dependents	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
35 to 39	31%	16%	33%	15%	60%	34%	57%	32%
40 to 44	34%	30%	33%	32%	27%	34%	26%	34%
45 to 49	16%	17%	16%	17%	7%	12%	10%	13%
50 or more	19%	37%	18%	36%	6%	20%	7%	21%

The Increase in Time in Work Has Been Systemic

To get a better appreciation of how time in work changed over the decade, we did two additional comparisons: gender by job type and gender by dependent care status.[46] These data (see Table 13) suggest that the increase in time in work over the decade has been systemic, with no group emerging unscathed. In 2001, male and female respondents, with and without dependent care responsibilities, professionals and non-professionals alike were less likely to work 35 to 39 hours per week and more likely to work 50 or more hours.

Half the Sample Takes Work Home to Complete on Their Own Time

Half of the respondents to the 2001 survey perform SWAH. The men in the sample were more likely to perform SWAH than women (58% versus 43%). This gender difference could be observed in all sectors, all job types and is independent of dependent care status. It is also consistent with the time in work data presented in the previous section.

Unpaid Overtime Work at Home Most Common in Not-for-Profit Sector

The likelihood of performing SWAH is associated with sector (Table 14). When comparisons are done within gender, it can be seen that SWAH appears to be a quite common practice (and perhaps expected) in the not-for-profit sector, with both men and women in this sample being more likely to perform SWAH than their counterparts in the other two sectors (two thirds of men in this sector and half the women take work home to complete in the evenings). Men in the public-sector sample were less likely to perform SWAH than men in the private-sector sample. No such difference was observed for the women in the sample.

46 It was not possible to examine sector differences over time as not-for-profit organizations were not included in our 1991 sample.

Table 14
Paid and Unpaid Overtime: Impact of Sector

	Public Sector		Private Sector		Not-for-Profit Sector	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
% who perform SWAH	53%	39%	61%	40%	65%	50%
Hours in SWAH per week	6.1	5.5	6.4	6.1	7.8	7.5
% working paid overtime	27%	21%	33%	28%	45%	35%
Hours per month paid overtime	12.5	9.5	14.2	10.0	10.7	9.0
% cannot refuse overtime	20%	11%	21%	14%	22%	18%
% working unpaid overtime	46%	39%	52%	42%	71%	55%
Hours per month unpaid overtime	17.4	13.1	21.8	16.4	21.9	15.7

Why is SWAH so common in the not-for-profit sector? It could be that the work expectations in this sector are unrealistically high and it is not possible to get work done during regular hours. Alternatively, it may be that employees in this sector (teachers, doctors, nurses) are very dedicated to both their profession and their clients and feel an obligation to complete the work, no matter what the cost to their personal lives. Alternatively, it may be that employees in this sector love their work and enjoy spending extra time in work-related activities. This question needs to be examined in follow-up work to this study.

Managers and Professionals Are More Likely to Take Work Home to Complete

The likelihood of performing SWAH is also associated with job type (Table 15). When comparisons are done within gender, it can be seen that managers and professionals (regardless of their gender) are more likely to perform SWAH than employees in technical or non-professional positions. These results are very consistent with those observed with respect to time in work. Why are managers and professionals more likely to take work home in the evenings? Again, there are a number of possible reasons for this finding, including the fact that employees in these job groups typically have heavier work demands, are expected to work long hours, and love what they do.

Table 15
Paid and Unpaid Overtime: Impact of Job Type

	Managers/Professionals		*Technical*		*Non-professionals*	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
% who perform SWAH	70%	60%	46%	32%	46%	30%
Hours in SWAH per week	6.7	6.5	6.1	5.0	7.7	6.6
% working paid overtime	27%	29%	48%	35%	37%	35%
Hours per month paid overtime	10.9	9.6	13.2	8.4	12.7	9.5
% cannot refuse overtime	25%	20%	16%	12%	16%	9%
% working unpaid overtime	69%	61%	36%	35%	40%	33%
Hours per month unpaid overtime	22.4	17.7	12.3	10.3	17.2	11.4

Parents and Employees with Elder Care Responsibilities More Likely to Take Work Home to Complete

Finally, it is important to note that the likelihood of performing SWAH is linked to dependent care status.

- Men with dependent care responsibilities were more likely to take work home to complete in evenings than men without dependent care status (66% versus 53%).
- Women with dependent care responsibilities were more likely to take work home to complete in evenings than women without dependent care status (45% versus 41%).

This finding suggests that many employees with dependent care status use SWAH as a way to balance competing work and family responsibilities.

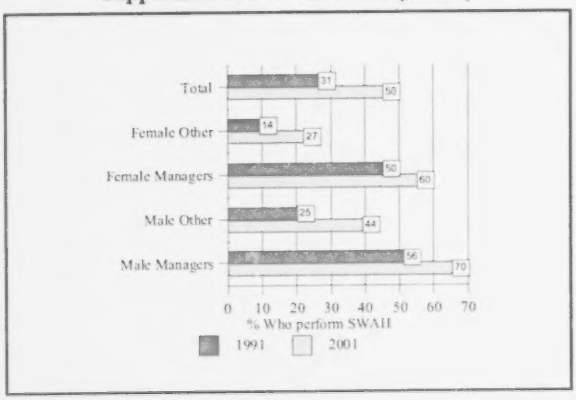
Employees Who Perform SWAH Do an Extra Day of Unpaid Work at Home a Week

The average respondent who performs SWAH spent an additional 6.7 hours per week working at home outside of regular hours (i.e. unpaid overtime). There are no significant between group differences with respect to the amount of time per week spent in SWAH.

The Proportion of the Workforce Who Perform Unpaid Work at Home Outside of Regular Hours Has Increased over the Past Decade

Just under one third (31%) of respondents to the 1991 survey took work home to perform in the evenings or on weekends, a substantially smaller percentage of the sample than the 50% who engaged in such work in 2001. Further examination of the data (see Figure 22) indicates that this increased use of SWAH was not linked to either gender or job type.

Figure 22
Likelihood of Performing
Supplemental Work at Home (SWAH)



One in Three Employees Works Paid Overtime

Thirty percent of the sample worked paid overtime in the month prior to the survey being conducted (a slightly higher percentage than the 20% reported by Statistics Canada in 1997). Respondents who worked paid overtime did so an average of 3.6 times in the month. Over this time period, employees who performed paid overtime worked an average of 11 hours of paid overtime per month (i.e. an additional one and a half days of work per month).

Only Half the Respondents Felt They Could Say No to Overtime

One in six of the employees in this sample (16%) said that he or she could not refuse to work overtime if asked. An additional 37% of respondents indicated that they could refuse overtime only "sometimes." Fewer than half the respondents (47%) perceived that they could refuse to work paid overtime if they desired. Perceived control over one's time has been found to be a key predictor of stress and work–life conflict (those who have more control report lower stress and greater balance). These data would suggest that fewer than half of the respondents to this survey (and by extension, half of those who are employed by Canada's largest organizations) are able to control the amount of time they devote to paid overtime (and hence paid employment) per month.

Men Work More Paid Overtime Than Women

Men, regardless of sector, are more likely than women to work paid overtime (34% of the men in the sample worked paid overtime versus 28% of the women). Men also spent more hours per month, on average, in paid overtime (men spent an average of 12 hours per month in paid overtime versus 10 hours per month for women). The women in the sample were more likely than the men to say they *could* refuse overtime (51% of women indicated that they could refuse overtime versus 41% of men); the men in the sample were more likely than women to say they could *not* refuse overtime (21% of the men indicated that they could not refuse overtime versus 13% of the women). These gender differences, which could be observed in all sectors, are consistent with the fact that the men in the sample were more likely than the women to work paid overtime.

The likelihood of engaging in paid overtime, time per month spent in paid overtime, and the ability to refuse overtime are all associated with sector and job type. Key sectorial differences (see Table 14) include the following:

- Men and women in the not-for-profit sector sample have the heaviest paid overtime burdens.
- Women in not-for-profit sector sample were more likely than the women in the other sector samples to say they could not refuse overtime; no such differences were observed with respect to the men in the sample.
- The time spent in paid overtime by the men in the sample is associated with sector; while men in the not-for-profit sector are more likely to have to work paid overtime, they spend less hours in such activities than men in the private and public sectors; no such differences were observed with respect to the women in the sample.

Important job type differences in this sample with respect to paid overtime are shown in Table 15 and include the following:

- The managers and professionals (regardless of gender) were less likely to work paid overtime.
- Men in technical positions were more likely to work paid overtime than other men.
- Men in technical and non-professional positions worked more hours of paid overtime.

Finally, it is interesting to note that neither the likelihood of working paid overtime, nor the time in paid overtime, nor the ability to refuse overtime were associated with dependent care status. In other words, those with child care and elder care responsibilities were as likely to work paid overtime and as likely to perceive that they needed to perform paid overtime as those without such commitments. This is a key finding in that it suggests that organizations have not recognized that employees' ability to meet certain types of organizational demands (i.e. paid overtime) varies with life-cycle stage (i.e. those with dependent care responsibilities have a higher need to be able to control when they work paid overtime). It also suggests that employees with dependent care responsibilities are often required to meet work demands at the expense of time with family and that organizations do not "favour" those with dependent care.

Half the Respondents Work Unpaid Overtime

Half of the employees who responded to this survey worked unpaid overtime in the month prior to the study. This percentage is identical to that reported with respect to SWAH, suggesting that many employees are working unpaid overtime at home outside of regular hours rather than staying late at work. Respondents who worked unpaid overtime did so approximately 6.3 times per month (i.e. 1.6 times per week). In total, those who worked unpaid overtime contributed an additional 18 hours per month of unpaid work to their company. In other

words, approximately half of the employees of the large Canadian organizations that participated in this study "donated" 2.5 days of work a month to their organization.

Men More Likely to Work Unpaid Overtime

Who is more likely to work unpaid overtime? The same trends were observed with respect to paid overtime as have already been noted with respect to SWAH and paid overtime. The men in the sample were more likely than the women to work unpaid overtime (55% of the men in the sample worked unpaid overtime versus 45% of the women) and spent more time in unpaid overtime per month (20 hours per month versus 14). Again, these gender differences could be observed in all three sectors and across all three job types.

Employees in the Not-for-Profit Sector, Managers and Professionals Work More Unpaid Overtime

Respondents in the not-for-profit sector sample were the most likely to work unpaid overtime (see Table 14) and employees who hold managerial and professional positions (see Table 15) worked more unpaid overtime. These findings are consistent with the data on SWAH.

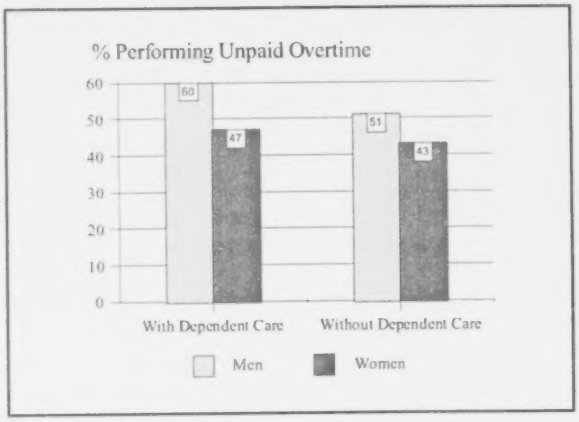
Parents and Those with Elder Care Responsibilities More Likely to Work Unpaid Overtime

Finally, it is interesting to note that the men and women in the sample with dependent care responsibilities were more likely to work unpaid overtime than their counterparts without dependent care status (see Figure 23). This finding is consistent with the data on SWAH and provides further support for the idea that employees take work home to complete in the evenings in an attempt to balance competing work and family commitments. It is unfortunate that these efforts may not be recognized by organizations that have traditionally used staying late at the office as a metric to measure commitment and productivity.

One in Three Respondents Spends Time Each Week Upgrading His or Her Job Skills

One third of the survey respondents engaged in educational activities in the month prior to the survey. Those who engaged in educational pursuits spent 4.6 hours per week, on average, in such activities. Respondents in non-professional positions were less likely to engage in educational activities than their counterparts in managerial or professional positions (27% of the respondents in the non-professional sample spent time in educational activities versus 37% of the respondents in managerial and professional positions and 35% of the respondents in technical positions). There were no gender or sector differences with respect to the likelihood of engaging in educational activities or the time spent in educational pursuits.

Figure 23
Likelihood of Performing Unpaid Overtime: Impact of Dependent Care Status



Those Without Dependent Care Responsibilities More Likely to Pursue Educational Opportunities

It is also interesting to note that men and women without dependent care responsibilities are more likely to engage in educational activities than their counterparts with dependent care status (36% of those without dependent care status undertook educational activities versus 30% of those with dependent care status). It is likely that those with dependent care status are less able to spare the time required for education or to fit it in to their already crowded schedules than their counterparts without the responsibilities of child or elder care. Unfortunately, the decision not to pursue additional educational opportunities, regardless of what underlies it, may hurt the career advancement or job security of those with dependent care responsibilities.

Families Devote Approximately 75 Hours a Week to Paid Employment

While much of the research on work and family studies individual employees, it may be more appropriate, given the dual-income family structure that is prevalent in Canada, to study the couple. If one spouse has heavy work demands, it is often the partner who has to pick up the slack at home. Similarly, if both partners have heavy work responsibilities, it begs the following question: How much time and energy is left over for the family?

The Canadian families in our sample devoted, on average, a total of 72.9 hours in work-related activities per week. Families with a female respondent spent an average of 75.6 hours while families with a male respondent spent an average of 70.0 hours. This gender difference was obvious in all sectors and in all job types and probably reflects the fact that 10% of the men in the sample had a wife who stayed at home full time and another 15% of men had a wife who worked part time. The women in the sample, on the other hand, were all married to men who had full-time employment.

Family time in work is not associated with dependent care status, suggesting that Canadians do not put work second when it comes to family responsibilities.

7.3 Travel Demands

Job-related travel can impose a number of extra demands on an employee. Many hours are wasted getting to and from one's destination. The large majority of employed Canadians live and work in different places. For those workers who live a great distance from their workplace or where transportation is not easily arranged or accessible, the length of the work day is extended. Although some people feel that commuting provides some time for oneself, most find it tiring. Time "on the road" (i.e. job-related travel) is also time away from family and friends and the office. Often, one returns from a trip to find work waiting and crises to solve. Travel also disrupts routines (family, eating, exercise) and can be physically exhausting, leaving little energy for other activities. Time in travel data are shown in Tables 16 and 17.

Respondents Spent 4.5 Hours per Week Commuting to Work

Virtually all those who answered this survey (99%) commute to work. On average, respondents spent 4.5 hours per week commuting to work. This works out to approximately one day per month. Commuting time was not associated with gender, sector, job type or dependent care status.

Jobs Impose Heavy Travel Demands

The data suggest that heavy work-related travel demands may add to the stress levels of many Canadians. Thirty-nine percent of the respondents worked in jobs that require them to spend weeknights away from home and one in four held a job that requires him or her to spend weekend nights away from home. Employees who travel during the week typically spent 3.1 nights a month away from home while employees who have to travel on weekends typically spent 2.2 weekend nights a month (out of a possible eight) away. In additional to the above, almost a third (31%) of the respondents have a job that required them to spend time each week commuting to a client site or another work site. Employees who travel to client sites spent approximately 17.2 hours a month (approximately 2 days per month) on the road.

Men Are More Likely Than Women to Spend Time Away from Home due to Job-related Travel

The data indicate that male employees (regardless of sector, job type or dependent care status) have a greater travel burden than female employees. Fifty-two percent of the men in the sample spent at least one weeknight away from home in the month prior to the survey (as compared to 29% of the women); 36% had work demands that took them away from home for at least one weekend night (as compared to 19% of women). Men were also more likely to have to travel to client sites than women (40% of the men in the sample engaged in this form of travel versus 24% of the women) and spent more hours a month on the road (the men in the sample spent 18 hours versus 16 hours for women).

Table 16
Time in Job-related Travel: Impact of Job Type and Sector

	Managers/Professionals		Technical		Non-professionals	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
% with weeknight away	60	40	48	29	37	19
% with weekend night away	41	27	32	20	26	13
	Public Sector		Private Sector		Not-for-Profit Sector	
% with weekend night away	34	19	27	11	42	26

Table 17
Travel to Client Sites: Impact of Job Type

	Managers/Professionals		Technical		Non-professionals	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
% who travel to a client site	46%	36%	38%	20%	29%	14%
Hrs/month driving to client	15.8	13.8	21.1	16.1	22.3	20.2

Managers and Professionals Are More Likely to Spend Time Away from Home Because of Work

Travel demands are strongly associated with job type. The data (see Tables 16 and 17) indicate that the travel demands confronting the managers and professionals in the sample are substantially greater than those faced by those in technical and non-professional positions. Managers and professionals are more likely to spend weeknights and weekend nights away from home. They are also more likely to have to spend time driving to client sites. Male managers and professionals in particular appear to have especially onerous travel demands.

It should be noted that while managers and professionals are more likely to drive to client sites, respondents in non-professional and technical positions who do have such requirements spend a substantially greater amount of time on the road (approximately 20 hours per month).

Men with Dependent Care Responsibilities More Likely to Spend Time Away from Home During the Week

The likelihood of spending time away from home during the week because of work is also associated with dependent care status. Men with dependent care responsibilities were more likely to spend weeknights away from home than men without dependent care status (55% with dependent care status spent weeknights away from home versus 49% without dependent care status). No such differences were observed for the women in the sample. These data suggest that women with dependent care responsibilities try to minimize the need to spend nights away from home.

Employees in the Not-for-Profit Sector Are More Likely to Travel on the Weekend

The need to travel for work on the weekend is associated with sector. The data (see Table 16) indicate that respondents in the not-for-profit sector sample are more likely to have to travel over the weekend while those in the private sector are less likely to travel on weekends. It may be that the not-for-profit sector is trying to reduce the amount of money spent on travel by "encouraging" employees to travel on the weekend when prices are reduced.

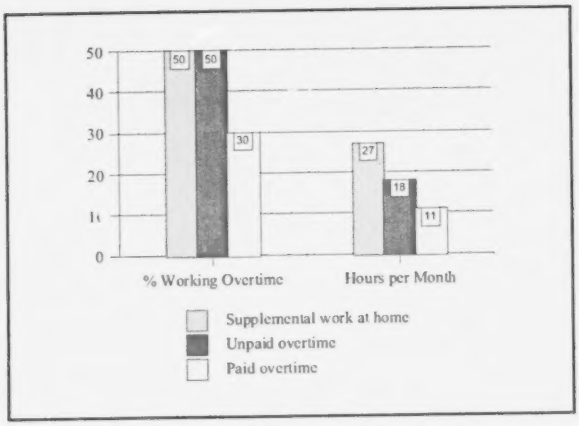
7.4 Summary: Work Demands

The data are unequivocal—a substantial proportion of Canadians who work for large employers regularly engage in overtime work. The following key observations can be drawn from the data on overtime:

- Respondents were more likely to work unpaid overtime than paid overtime.
- The amount of time per month spent performing SWAH and unpaid overtime is considerable and greater than the amount of time spent in paid overtime (see Figure 24).
- Employees donate a significant proportion of unpaid time to their employer.
- While the types of employees performing paid and unpaid overtime are slightly different (managers and professionals are more likely to perform unpaid overtime while non-professionals are more likely to perform paid overtime), it is important not to hold stereotypes regarding who performs what type of overtime as substantial proportions of all employees in the various job types considered in this analysis work paid and unpaid overtime (i.e. managers and professionals also work paid overtime, non-professionals also work unpaid overtime).
- Many employees feel that they cannot say "no" to overtime work (i.e. have low control over work time).
- Overtime demands appear to be the most onerous in the not-for-profit sector.
- Men appear to have more pressures to work both paid and unpaid overtime than women, suggesting that there are still gender differences with respect

to what companies expect from their employees and the demands employees place on themselves.

Figure 24
Overtime Work



- The use of unpaid overtime has increased over the past decade.

These observations are consistent with data on overtime work recently collected by Statistics Canada, which noted that in the first quarter of 1997 one fifth of the Canadian workforce—roughly two million employees—reported overtime hours (Statistics Canada, 1997f). Overtime workers put in fairly long hours over and above their regular week, averaging over 9 extra hours a week. Six in ten of these employees received no pay for these extra hours (Statistics Canada, 1997f).

Work Demands Have Increased over Time

Comparisons done using the 1991 and 2001 samples suggest that time in work has increased over the decade. Whereas one in ten respondents in 1991 worked 50 or more hours per week, one in four does so now; during this same time period, the proportion of employees working between 35 and 39 hours per week declined from 48% of the sample to 27%. This increase in time in work was observed for all job groups and all sectors.

The trends observed with respect to time in work and overtime work suggest that it has become more difficult over the past decade for Canadian employees (especially those working in managerial and professional positions) to meet work expectations during regular hours. It would appear that employees who work for larger organizations have attempted to cope with these increased demands by working longer hours and taking work home. Further work is needed to determine why work demands have increased over the decade. Competing explanations drawn from the data reviewed in Chapter Two and preliminary analysis of the 2001 data set include (among others):

- Organizational anorexia (downsizing—especially of the middle manager cadre—has meant that there are not enough employees to do the work and managers to strategize and plan).
- Corporate culture (if you don't work long hours and take work home, you will not advance in your career or not keep your job during downsizing).
- Increased use of technology (data collected elsewhere in the survey provide partial support for this supposition).
- Global competition (work hours have been extended to allow work across time zones, increased competition and a desire to keep costs down has limited the number of employees it is deemed feasible to hire).
- The speed of change has increased to the point where many organizations have lost their ability to plan and prioritize—workloads increase when organizations practise crisis management (partial support for this hypothesis comes from data collected elsewhere in the survey).
- Employees are worried about the consequences of "not being seen to be a contributor"
  - non-professionals may fear that they will lose their jobs if they do not work overtime,
  - professionals may worry that their career will stagnate if they do not work overtime.

Finally, it should be noted that the link between hours in work and role overload, work–life conflict, burnout and physical and mental health problems suggest that these work loads are not sustainable over the long term.

Work Requirements (Especially with Respect to Travel and Overtime) Do Not Support Balance

The data reviewed in this chapter suggest that the "myth of separate worlds" still operates in Canada's largest employers. The expectation that an employee will spend both weeknight and weekend nights away from home if required by his or her job appears to be quite prevalent, and many employees feel that they cannot refuse overtime work. Just over one in three respondents work in jobs that require them to spend an average of 3.1 weeknights a month away from home. One in three holds a job that calls for them to spend one quarter of their weekend nights away from home. Another third have jobs that compel them to spend approximately two days per month on the

road commuting to other work sites. Finally, one in six respondents said that he or she could not refuse to work overtime if asked. An additional 37% of respondents indicated that they could refuse overtime only "sometimes."

Who Has the Heaviest Work Demands?

The data analyzed in this section provide the following answers to this question: men, managers and professionals, and employees who work in the not-for-profit sector. The data presented in this section unequivocally support the idea that men have heavier work demands than women. Men (regardless of sector, job type or dependent care status) spend more hours per week in paid employment than women (44.1 hours versus 40.6), are more likely to work paid overtime (34% versus 28%), unpaid overtime (55% versus 45%) and SWAH (58% versus 43%). They also spend more hours per month, on average, in paid overtime (12 hours versus 10 hours) and unpaid overtime (20 hours per month versus 14). Men also have heavier travel demands (more likely to have to spend weekdays and weekends away).

Managers and professionals of both genders also had markedly higher work demands. They spend more time per week in work, have heavier travel demands (more likely to spend weekday and weekend nights away from home) and dedicate more time to unpaid overtime and SWAH. It should be noted that male managers and professionals have particularly heavy workloads. The fact that managers and professionals (regardless of gender) were less likely than those in technical or non-professional positions to work paid overtime is likely because companies have different expectations of their professional personnel with respect to the time they should contribute to work.

It is also interesting to note that men and women in the not-for-profit sector sample had particularly onerous workloads. The men in the not-for-profit sector sample were shown to have the heaviest burdens with respect to paid overtime. The women in this sector were more likely to feel that they could not refuse overtime. Both men and women in this sector were more likely to engage in SWAH, work unpaid overtime and travel on the weekends. They also "donated" the most time to their employer. The heavy workloads in this sector are consistent with the budget cuts and downsizing initiatives experienced within both the education and health care fields in the last few years (i.e. fewer bodies to do the same amount of work). It should also be noted that private-sector employees spend a high number of hours per week in paid employment. The travel and overtime demands reported by those in the private sector is, however, lower than that reported by those in other sectors.

Despite the fact that they have heavier demands and more responsibilities outside of work, employees with dependent care commitments spend the same amount of time in work each week as their counterparts without dependent care. These data suggest that men and women who have dependent care responsibilities have more demands on their time than those without such obligations (i.e. time in work is the same but time spent in non-work activities is higher). Men with dependent care responsibilities have greater work demands than their female counterparts; they invest more time in paid work per week and spend more weeknights away from home than women with dependent care status. This greater investment in work may give men an advantage with respect to career advancement.

It is also interesting to note that employees with dependent care responsibilities are more likely to perform SWAH. Future analysis of the data will determine if this strategy is an effective way for parents and those with elder care responsibilities to cope with increased work demands or if it is associated with increased work–life conflict.

Finally, it is interesting to note that men and women without dependent care responsibilities are more likely to engage in educational activities than their counterparts with dependent care status. This may give this group an advantage with respect to career development.

Chapter 8

Profile of Respondents: Non-Work Demands

Family labour is defined as being those tasks required to maintain a household and fulfil child and elder care responsibilities. Despite the increase in women's labour force participation, there has been little, if any, concurrent change in the division of family labour: women still perform the vast majority of housework and child care tasks.[47] The division of family labour between husbands and wives is typically the result of social expectations which foster allocation along traditional sex-role lines. Work–family conflicts regarding family roles tend to fall into two areas: allocation of household tasks and child and dependent care responsibilities.

Household Responsibilities: A perennial debate for many families concerns who is to do what tasks in the household. When work demands press into family life, this debate becomes more complicated. The dispute concerns actual amount of time spent in housework as well as conflicts regarding who has ultimate responsibility for these chores.

Time in Dependent Care: Research has found that for full-time employees of both genders, an increased number of hours spent in dependent care places employees at high risk for work–family conflict. This conflict, in turn, appears strongly associated with decreased physical and emotional well-being as measured by depressed feelings, life satisfaction, health and energy levels and days absent from work.

This chapter looks at how Canadians who work for larger firms spend their non-work time. It begins with a discussion of how the various dimensions of non-work demands presented in this chapter were measured. Data pertaining to the following dimensions of non-work time are then examined in section 2: time spent in home chores, child care, leisure, volunteer activities, and total time in non-work activities. The third section examines how time spent in non-work activities has changed over time. Data with regard to the total amount of time spent in work and non-work activities within the family are covered in section 4. Key findings are summarized in section 5.

8.1 Measurement of Non-Work Demands

The estimates of time presented in this section were collected by asking respondents to tell us approximately how many hours they spend in a week in home chores and errands, child care or in activities with their children, caring for elderly relatives or dependents, in self-related activities (i.e. activities alone, with partner or with friends), and in volunteer activities and community work.

To give us a better idea of what is going on in the Canadian families represented in our sample with respect to non-work activities, we computed the following totals:

- *Total time in non-work - The Respondent:* Calculated as the amount of time spent in home chores, child care, elder care and volunteer activities for the respondent
- *Total time in work and family - The Family:* Calculated as the total amount of time the respondent and his or her partner spent in work and non-work activities.[48]

8.2 Time Spent in Non-Work Activities

Women Spend More Time in Home Chores Than Men

Virtually all of the sample (99%) spent some time each week in home chores and errands. Despite all the talk about women's equality heard in Canada over the last several decades, the data collected as part of this study indicate that women spent more time in home chores per week than men. The women in this sample spent 12.2 hours in home chores per week—a substantially higher number of hours than spent by the men in the sample (10.1 hours per week). The fact that this gender difference could be seen across all sectors, all job types and all dependent care categories suggests that home chores are still perceived by many to be "women's work."

47 An excellent and very current discussion of gender differences in the division of family labour can be found in Bianchi, 2000 and Bianchi et al., 2000

48 This total will also be an underestimate of the actual amount of time spent by families in work and non-work activities, as data on the amount of time the spouse spends commuting, in education and in volunteer activities were not collected in this study.

Women with Child Care and Elder Care Responsibilities Spend the Most Time in Home Chores

The women in our sample with dependent care responsibilities spent more time in home chores each week than their counterparts without dependent care responsibilities (13.3 hours versus 11.0 hours); no such association was observed for the men in the sample (men with dependent care status spent 10.5 hours in home chores per week versus 9.7 for those without dependent care status). This finding provides additional support for our contention that home chores are seen as "women's work."

Fathers Spend the Same Amount of Time in Child Care as Mothers

Just over half (56%) of the sample spent time each week in child care. The men in the sample were more likely to spend time in child care each week than the women (61% versus 50%). This gender difference (which could be observed in all sectors and all job types) is consistent with the fact that the men in the sample were more likely to have children at home than the women. All of men and women with children under 18 years of age at home spent time each week in child care activities.

In this sample, mothers and fathers who engaged in child care spent essentially the same amount of time each week in child care-related activities. The typical mother in the sample spent approximately 11.1 hours per week in child care, while the typical father spent approximately 10.5 hours per week. While this gender difference in child care is statistically significant, it is by no means substantive and is certainly not as large as we have observed in our previous work in this area (Duxbury et al., 1992, Higgins, Duxbury, & Lee, 1993, Duxbury and Higgins, 1998). This finding, which could be observed in all three of the sectors examined in this study, runs counter to previous research in this area which reported that employed women in North America work a "second shift" or a "double day" (see Duxbury et al., 1992; Higgins, Duxbury, & Lee, 1993; Johnson et al., 1997). It also runs counter to popular beliefs around the issues of child care. These data are, however, consistent with reports by Statistics Canada suggesting that in the 1980s and 1990s men (particularly husbands and lone fathers) spent more time in unpaid non-work activities such as child and elder care than earlier in the decade (Vanier Institute, 2000). They are also consistent with time use data from the United States (see Bianchi, 2000).[49]

Professional Women with Children Spend the Most Time in Child Care

Time in child care is associated with job type. What is interesting is that women in managerial and professional positions are the only group of women who spend more time in child care per week (11.5 hours) than their male counterparts (the men in managerial and professional positions in our sample spent 10.5 hours per week on child care). This group of women also spent more time in child care than female respondents in technical (10.8 hours per week) and non-professional positions (10.7 hours per week). There were no gender differences with respect to time spent in child care by those in technical and non-professional positions. These findings are interesting as they support the myth of "supermom"—the professional woman who thinks that she has to (and can) "do it all." They also suggest that some of the additional burdens faced by professional women may be self-imposed.

Men Spend the Same Amount of Time in Elder Care as Women

One third of the women in the sample and 26% of the men had spent time in elder care activities in the week prior to the survey. Those who had participated in elder care spent approximately 5.3 hours helping their elderly relative, about half the amount of time spent in child care.

The men and the women in the sample spent approximately the same amount of time per week in elder care (4.6 hours and 5.2 hours, respectively). These trends (i.e. likelihood of having elder care is associated with gender while time spent in elder care is not associated with gender) was the same across all sectors and job types. Women with dependent care responsibilities spent 5.6 hours per week in elder care, slightly more than the 4.9 hours per week spent by the men with elder care commitments.

Men Spend More Time in Leisure Than Women

Increased time in recreation, alone or with one's spouse, family or friends, has been shown to be an effective way of relieving one's stress. Virtually all the respondents to this survey (91%) spent time each week in self-related activities. The men in the sample spent more time per week in leisure (9.6 hours per week) than the women (8.5 hours per week). Time in leisure was not associated with sector or job type. It was, however, associated with dependent care status. Both men and women with care

49 Note: we could not find a comparable Canadian study.

responsibilities spent approximately 3 hours less per week in leisure than their counterparts without dependent care responsibilities. This finding is not surprising given the greater number of time demands reported by those with dependent care responsibilities.

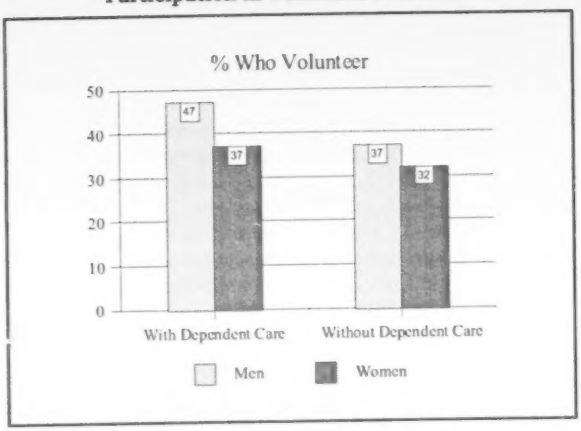
Despite Heavy Demands on Their Time, One in Three Respondents Engages in Volunteer Work

In total, 38% of the respondents to this survey spent time in volunteer work. Men in all sectors and all job types were more likely to spend time in volunteer activities than women (43% versus 34%). This is a higher proportion of people volunteering than reported by Statistics Canada (27% volunteer nationally). In particular, it is a higher proportion of male volunteers than reported nationally (43% of the males in our sample volunteered versus 24% in the national sample).[50] Employees who volunteered spent an average of 3.7 hours a week in volunteer activities. There are no significant between group differences with respect to the amount of time spent in volunteer activities by those who volunteer.

Already Busy People (i.e. Working Mothers and Fathers) More Likely to Spend Time Volunteering

As shown in Figure 25, men and women with dependent care responsibilities were more likely to engage in volunteer activities than their counterparts without dependent care status. It is probable that the volunteer activities that these employees participate in are associated either with their children or with their elderly dependents. These data are interesting as they suggest that employees who are already more likely to have a heavy work–family burden are more likely to pursue activities that increase their obligations.

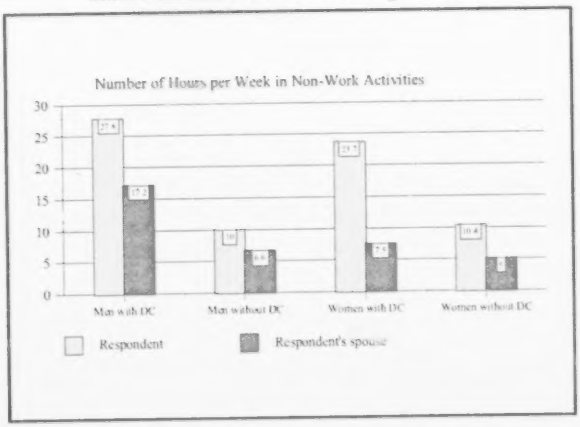
Figure 25
Participation in Volunteer Activities



Respondents Spend Half as Much Time in Non-work Activities as in Work Activities

Respondents spent an average of 17.1 hours in non-work-related activities per week. Men and women spent approximately the same amount of time in non-work activities when volunteer work was included in the total. There were no differences across sector or job type with respect to this variable. Respondents with dependent care responsibilities spent more than twice as much time in non-work activities as those without dependent care status (see Figure 26).

Figure 26
Hours in Non-Work Activities per Week



50 The Statistics Canada data on volunteering were reported in Vanier Institute (1994).

8.3 Respondents Spent Less Time in Non-Work Activities in 2001 Than in 1991

While the data are not completely comparable,[51] a comparison of who did what with respect to time in child care, home chores and leisure is instructive. Examination of the data in Figure 27 indicates that the men and women in the 2001 sample with dependent care activities spent less time per week in child care, home chores and leisure than their counterparts in 1991. This finding is not surprising given the increases in time in work and overtime work. These findings, taken in concert, suggest that employees are sacrificing time for themselves and time with their families to meet greater demands at work. Such a coping strategy may not be effective over the long run—nor may this sacrifice be one that Canadian employees are willing to make indefinitely.

8.4 Time Devoted to Work and Non-Work Activities by Canadian Families

Canadian Families Spend Approximately 103 Hours in Work and Non-Work Activities per Week

The men and women in the couples represented in our sample spent about 103 hours per week in total in work and non-work activities. There were no gender differences in these findings. Respondents in the following situations were in families with heavier work and non-work demands:

- men and women in managerial and professional positions (106 hours per week), and
- men and women with dependent care responsibilities (see Figure 28).

Figure 27
Time in Family Activities by Those with Dependent Care Responsibilities: 1991 and 2001

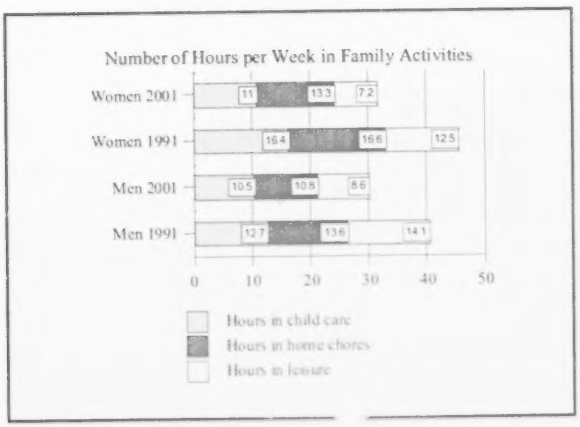
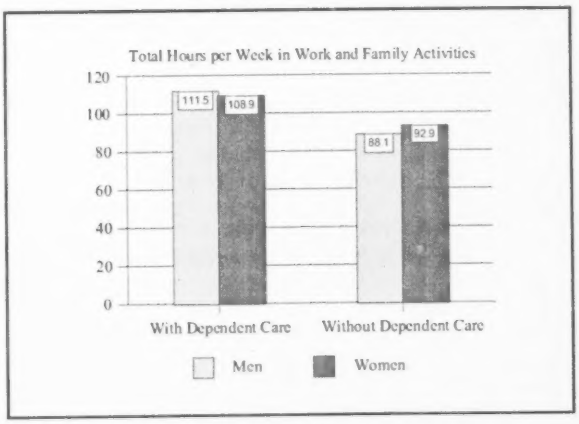


Figure 28
Time Work and Family Activities: By Dependent Care Status



8.5 Summary: Family Demands

The employees who answered our survey spent approximately 17 hours per week in non-work-related activities—a significantly lower amount of time than they spent in paid employment. Time in non-work activities is not associated with sector. It is, however, linked to gender, dependent care status and job type.

The women in our sample spent 12.2 hours in home chores per week—a substantially higher number of hours than spent by the men in the sample (10.1 hours per week). The men in the sample, on the other hand, spent more time per week in leisure (9.6 hours per week) than the women (8.5 hours per week). While the men were also more likely than the women to engage in volunteer activities (43% of the men in the sample volunteered versus 34% of the women), the amount of time spent in volunteer activities (3.7 hours per week) was not associated with gender.

51 We asked respondents to the 1991 survey to "estimate the amount of time they spent on a typical weekday and typical weekend day in child care-related activities" while those who participated in 2001 were asked to indicate the number of hours they had spent in the previous week in such activities. To compare, we had to extrapolate weekly data from the 1991 data that we had.

The data are unequivocal—employees with dependent care responsibilities have more demands on their time than their counterparts without child care or elder care. They spent more than twice as much time in non-work activities as those without dependent care status (23 hours versus 10 hours) and approximately 3 hours less per week in leisure. Families with dependent care responsibilities devoted approximately 110 hours per week to work and non-work activities—a substantially greater time commitment than observed in families without dependent care responsibilities (90 hours per week). In this sample, child care could be seen to generate heavier time demands than elder care. Respondents with elder care responsibilities spent approximately 5.3 hours helping their elderly relative; parents spent approximately 10.8 hours per week in child care.

A key finding from this research is that the role of "caregiver" is not as strongly associated with gender as it was in the past. Traditionally, research in this area has determined that women spend more time in child care than men. Such was not the case in this study, as mothers and fathers who engaged in child care spent essentially the same amount of time each week in child care-related activities (the typical mother in the sample spent approximately 11.1 hours per week in child care while the typical father spent approximately 10.5 hours). Similarly, the men and the women in the sample with elder care responsibilities spent approximately the same amount of time per week in elder care activities (the typical man with elder care responsibilities spent 4.6 hours per week while the typical woman spent approximately 5.2 hours).

These data would suggest that women's entry into the paid labour force has had a measurable impact on the division of family labour within the home. The fact that we did not observe large gender differences with respect to the amount of time devoted to child care may be attributed to the fact that time for family-related activities has declined as time in work has increased. A comparison of the 1991 and 2001 data sets provides support for this idea (see Figure 27). These data indicate that while both genders are now spending less time in family activities than previously, the decline in time spent in child care has been more precipitous for women (dropped by 33% over the decade) than for men (dropped by 15%). This finding is consistent with Bianchi (2000)'s observations from American time use data. She attributes the decline in maternal time in child care and the lack of gender differences in time spent in child care to the following factors: (1) the reallocation of mothers' time to market work outside the home, (2) over-estimations of maternal time with children in the past (it was assumed that time at home was all invested in child care when in reality a large amount was given to home chores), (3) smaller families have reduced the number of years with very young children, (4) more pre-school children spend time outside the home in school-like settings regardless of their mother's employment status, (5) women's reallocation of their time has changed men's domestic roles and facilitated the increase in men's involvement in child rearing, and (6) technology (i.e. cell phones, beepers) has made it possible for parents to be "on call" without being physically present in the home. In other words, the gender difference in time spent in child care has diminished as women spend less time in child care, men spend more and the need to spend high amounts of time in child care is reduced.

The data can also be interpreted to mean that in many Canadian families (i.e. dual career) men and women are now equal partners with respect to the amount of time they devote to child care. This interpretation of the data is supported by the fact that 44% of the men and 33% of the women in the sample perceived that responsibility for child care is equally shared in their family. Follow-up research is needed to explore this issue in more detail (i.e. is this an artifact of this study and how the data were collected or does it reflect a new reality for some Canadian families; are the types of child care and elder care tasks done within the family linked to gender even if time in tasks is not?).

It should also be noted that this "enlightened" attitude with respect to the distribution of "family labour" does not extend to home chores. The women in the sample spent substantially more time in home chores per week than the men, regardless of sector, job type or dependent care status. This finding would suggest that in many Canadian families home chores are still perceived to be "women's work."

Finally, it is interesting to note that the women in managerial and professional positions in our sample spent more time in child care per week (11.5 hours) than women in other types of jobs, or their male counterparts in managerial and professional positions. They are also in families which devote more hours per week to work and non-work activities (106 hours per week). These data would suggest that many professional women in Canada have bought into the concept of "supermom" and place very high demands on themselves with respect to both work and family.

Chapter 9
Key Findings and Recommendations

This chapter is divided into three main sections. Answers to the research questions posed at the beginning of this report are given in section 1. The impact of gender, job type, sector and dependent care status on the findings are addressed in section 2. The report closes in section 3 with a set of recommendations suggested from the data.

9.1 Answers to Research Questions

Who Responded to the 2001 Health Canada Work–Life Survey?

This research is based on a sample of 31,571 Canadian employees who work for public (federal, provincial and municipal governments), private and not-for-profit (defined in this study to include organizations in the health care and educational sectors) organizations. In total, 100 companies with 500+ employees participated in the research: 40 from the private sector, 22 from the public sector and 38 from the not-for-profit sector.

The sample includes a substantial number of employees who may be at risk with respect to work–life conflict. Three quarters of the respondents were married or living with a significant other; 69% were part of a dual-income family; 11% were single parents. Twelve percent of the sample lived in rural areas. One in three were clerical and administrative employees with lower levels of formal education (i.e. reduced job mobility) and lower personal and family incomes (reduced ability to purchase supports). One quarter of the respondents indicated that money was tight in their family; 29% of respondents earned less than $40,000 per year and just over one quarter lived in families with total family incomes that were less than the Canadian average. One in three of the respondents had a high school education or less.

The majority of employees in the 2001 survey sample had responsibilities outside of work. Seventy percent were parents (average number of children for parents in the sample is 2.1); 60% had elder care (average number of elderly dependents is 2.3); 13% had responsibility for the care of a disabled relative; 13% had both child care and elder care demands (i.e. are part of the "sandwich generation").

To What Extent Can the Results Obtained with This Sample Be Generalized to the Canadian Population as a Whole?

Examination of the 2001 survey sample indicates that the results from this study can be generalized beyond this research.

- The sample is well distributed with respect to age, region, community size, job type, education, personal income, family income, family's financial well-being, hours spent in work per week.
- It is also well distributed with respect to employment sector with employees from the following types of organizations participating in the research: telecommunications, high technology, retail, transportation, pharmaceutical, financial services, entertainment, natural resources, manufacturing, municipal government, provincial government, federal government, hospitals, district health councils, school boards, universities, colleges, social service, charities and protective services.
- The sample make-up is consistent with what we know about the employees who work for larger organizations in Canada. Approximately half of the respondents to the survey can be considered to be highly educated male and female knowledge workers. The majority of respondents were part of a dual-income family and indicated that they are able to "live comfortably" (but not luxuriously) on two full-time incomes. Respondents who belong to a traditional, male breadwinner family were in the minority (5% of total sample, 11% of the sample of men) and outnumbered by respondents who are single parents (11% of the total sample were part of a single-parent family).

It should be noted that male private-sector employees are under-represented in the sample. This shortcoming can, however, be minimized by reporting findings by sector and gender, and by post stratification of the data.

What Kinds of Work and Non-Work Demands and Responsibilities Do These Individuals Face?

The data reviewed in this report support the following conclusions:

- Canadian employees work extremely hard and extend their work day on a regular basis.
- Work expectations have increased to the extent that many Canadian employees cannot complete their work during regular work hours.
- Work requirements (especially with respect to job-related travel and overtime) do not support work–life balance.
- Canadians devote considerably more time per week to paid employment than to their non-work roles.

The typical full-time respondent to the 2001 survey spent 42.2 hours in work per week. One in four spent 50 or more hours in work per week. One in three worked an additional one and one-half days of paid overtime in the month prior to the survey being conducted while half performed 2.5 days of unpaid overtime in the same time period. Fifty percent "donated" 3.5 days of additional unpaid work per month by taking work home to complete in the evenings (supplemental work at home - SWAH). An additional day per month was spent commuting to and from work. These long hours in work appear to be systemic as a substantial proportion of all respondents, regardless of job type, worked paid and unpaid overtime.

Furthermore, the data reviewed in this report suggest that many of Canada's largest employers still believe in the "myth of separate worlds." The expectation that an employee will spend both weekday and weekend nights away from home if required by his or her job appears to be quite prevalent, and many employees feel that they cannot refuse overtime work.

The employees who answered our survey spent approximately 17 hours a week in non-work-related activities—a significantly lower amount of time than they spent in paid employment. Home chores consume about 11 hours per week. Respondents with elder care responsibilities spend approximately 5.3 hours helping their elderly relative; parents spend approximately 10.8 hours per week in child care. Those who volunteer spend just under 4 hours per week in volunteer activities.

How Has the Amount of Time Spent in Paid Employment Changed over the Last Decade?

Comparisons done using the 1991 and 2001 samples suggest that time in work has increased over the decade. Whereas one in ten respondents in 1991 worked 50 or more hours per week, one in four does so now; during this same time period, the proportion of employees working between 35 and 39 hours per week declined from 48% of the sample to 27%. This increase in time in work was observed for all job groups and all sectors. The data also reveal that during this same time period the proportion of employees who perform unpaid overtime has almost doubled—from just over one in four employees in 1991 to approximately one in two in 2001.

Taken together, these data (i.e. time in work has increased, employees regularly working paid and unpaid overtime and taking work home to complete in the evening) suggest that it has become more difficult over the past decade for Canadian employees (especially those working in managerial and professional positions) to meet work expectations during regular hours. Further work is needed to determine why work demands have increased over the decade. Competing explanations include (among others) organizational anorexia; corporate culture; increased use of technology; global competition; inability to cope with change, plan and prioritize; concerns over job security; and concerns over career advancement. One thing is clear—the link between hours in work and role overload, work–life conflict, burnout, and physical and mental health problems suggests that these work loads are not sustainable over the long term.

How Has the Amount of Time Spent in Non-Work Activities Changed over the Last Decade?

The data indicate that the amount of time working men and women devote per week to child care, home chores and leisure has dropped significantly over the last decade. A comparison of the 1991 and 2001 data sets indicates the decline in time spent in home chores and leisure over the decade was essentially the same for both men and women (20% less time in home chores and 40% less time in leisure in 2001 than in 1991). The decline in time spent in child care was, however, more precipitous for the women in the samples than for the men (dropped by 33 percentage points over the decade for women versus 15% percentage points for men). The women in our 2001 sample, in fact, reduced the amount of time they spent per week in child care to such an extent that there were essentially no gender differences in these data (the typical mother in the 2001 sample spent approximately 11.1 hours per week in child care while the typical father spent approximately 10.5 hours). The women in the 1991

sample, on the other hand, spent significantly more hours in child care than men (16.4 hours per week versus 12.7 hours per week). It would appear from these data that material employment has contributed, over the course of the past decade, to a redistribution of labour within Canadian families. It should be noted that this "enlightened" attitude with respect to the distribution of "family labour" does not extend to home chores, which still appear to be perceived by many to be "women's work."

Finally, the data also indicate that the percentage of Canadian employees with elder care responsibilities has increased over time: from 5% of the sample in 1991 to almost one third (31%) of respondents in 2001. The ramifications of this trend are likely to be significant as the amount of time spent in elder care per week (approximately 5 hours per week) is not insignificant.

How Has the Use of Various Alternative Work Arrangements Changed over the Last Decade?

The data reviewed in this section would suggest that employers' sensitivity to work and family matters continues to lag behind the emergence of these concerns as an issue for employees. While the current needs of our society require a diversity of work schedules, the majority of Canadians in both the 1991 and 2001 samples work "regular" hours (i.e. little to no formal flexibility with respect to arrival and departure times; no work location flexibility). The percentage of respondents using the most desired "family-friendly" flexible work arrangements (flextime and telework) has not changed over the decade and remains relatively low (approximately 20% work flextime and 1% telework). Over this same time period, the percentage of the workforce who use work schedules known to increase work–life conflict and stress (i.e. rotating shifts, fixed shifts, atypical work arrangements) has increased.

Further examination of the data indicates that those employees who have the greatest need for flexible work arrangements (i.e. parents and employees with elder care responsibilities) do not have access to them. This would suggest that despite all the talk about "family friendly" and "employer of choice," the myth of separate worlds still appears to be the operating principle in many of Canada's largest employers. Organizations that insist on regular work schedules have the same expectations of employees, regardless of family situation, and fail to recognize the impact of the work domain on the family domain.

Within Canadian Families, Who Assumes Primary Responsibility for Child Care and Elder Care? Has Responsibility for Child Care Changed over the Last Decade?

The data with respect to responsibility for child care have changed little over time. In both 1991 and 2001 samples, the majority of men and women indicated that it was the female in their family who had the main responsibility for child care. These data suggest that while Canadian men may now spend relatively more time in child care than they did previously, the responsibility for this role still rests primarily with the women (i.e. men are "helping" women with child care). This is an important observation as responsibility for a role has been found to have a stronger positive association with stress than has time spent in role-related activities.

The results with respect to responsibility for elder care were somewhat different. While the majority of female respondents (54%) felt that they had the primary responsibility for elder care, the majority of men felt that this responsibility was shared. This would suggest that the family dynamics of elder care are quite different from those of child care. The projected increase in the number of working Canadians with elder care responsibilities over the next several decades suggests that the difference between elder care and child care is a topic that needs to be explored in greater depth.

9.2 Impact of Gender, Job Type, Sector and Dependent Care

This research initiative has culminated in the collection of a large, rich, comprehensive data set with which to explore the antecedents, consequences and moderators of work–life conflict. One of the strengths of this research is the capacity this large data set provides to examine how key factors, such as the gender of the employee, the type of job he or she holds, the sector in which he or she works and how the dependent care responsibilities he or she assumes affect work and family demands. Key differences are summarized in Appendix C and highlighted below.

Impact of Gender

What impact does gender have on the work and family issues examined in this report? To answer this question, one needs to identify gender differences that held across job type and sector and were true for those with and

without dependent care responsibilities. What conclusions can we draw with respect to gender from the data collected in this study?

- Women who work for firms employing more than 500 people have yet to achieve full equality with men at work: the men in the sample who supervise others are more likely to be at the middle to top of the hierarchy while women are more likely to be front-line supervisors and middle managers; when education is controlled for, women earn less than men.
- Women who work for firms employing more than 500 people have yet to achieve full equality with men at "home": they assumed the role of employee but have not significantly reduced their responsibilities at home.
- There are still gender differences with respect to what companies expect from their employees and/or the demands employees place on themselves (men appear to have more pressures with respect to the performance of both paid and unpaid overtime than women).
- In many Canadian families, mothers and fathers are equal partners with respect to time in child care. Home chores are, however, still seen as "women's work."

Gender was not associated with where the respondent lived (i.e. rural/urban, province, population of community, language) or the family's financial status. Nor was it linked to a number of key family demand metrics (i.e. no gender differences in age, number of children at home, time in child care, time in elder care, the likelihood of having to care for an elderly or disabled dependent, or of being in the sandwich generation). Men and women were also equally likely to use alternative work arrangements and engage in educational activities.

There were, however, a considerable number of interesting gender differences associated with key demographic, socio-economic and work demand indicators. The men in the sample were slightly older than the women, more likely to be married and had spent more years with their current organization. They were more likely to hold managerial and technical positions, more likely to have a university education, and more likely to earn more than $60,000 per year. They were also more likely to supervise others and had higher spans of control. The women in the sample, on the other hand, were more likely to work in clerical and administrative positions and to earn less than $40,000 per year. Men also had heavier work demands than their female counterparts. Men (regardless of sector, job type or dependent care status) spent more hours per week in paid employment than women, were more likely to work paid overtime, unpaid overtime and do supplemental work at home, spent more hours, on average, in both paid and unpaid overtime, and were more likely to have to spend weekdays and weekends away from home because of the need to travel for work.

The women in the sample, on the other hand, had heavier non-work demands. They were more likely than men to have primary responsibility for child care (and perhaps elder care). They spent more time per week in home chores and less time per week in leisure.

Impact of Job Type

What impact does job type have on the work and family issues examined in this report? This analysis shows that job type is associated with socio-economic status and work demands but not dependent care responsibilities.

What conclusions can we draw with respect to job type from the data collected in this study?

- Managers and professionals (regardless of gender) have greater work demands.
- Managers and professionals have a greater ability to purchase goods and services to help them cope with work and family demands.
- The technical employees do not differ substantially from the non-professional employees in the sample: the main differences are between those in managerial and professional positions and everyone else.

With respect to the link between socio-economic status and job type, the data show that in this sample, the men and women in non-professional positions were more likely to have a high school education or less, receive lower financial remuneration and say that "money is tight" in their family. The men and women in managerial and professional positions, on the other hand, were more likely to have a university education. be in families that earned $100,000 or more a year, and say that "money was not an issue" in their family. The men and women in technical positions were more likely to have a college degree. Their personal and family incomes were very similar to those in non-professional positions.

Managers and professionals of both genders also had markedly higher work demands. They spent more time per week in work, had heavier travel demands (more likely to spend weekday and weekend nights away from home) and dedicated more time to unpaid overtime and supplemental work at home. It should be noted that male managers and professionals had particularly heavy workloads.

Finally, it is interesting to note that dependent care responsibilities are not associated with job type when gender is taken into account.

Impact of Gender and Job Type

There were a number of key differences in the data that could be linked to both gender and job type. For example, the gender difference in parental status noted previously (i.e. women less likely than men to have children) was found to be due to the fact that the women in managerial and professional positions in the sample were less likely to have children than their counterparts in non-professional positions. In our sample, the men in managerial and professional positions were more likely to have children than their non-professional counterparts. Why are professional women less likely to have children? The data would suggest that motherhood and career advancement are not perceived by many professional women in the sample to be compatible goals. Just under half of the managerial and professional women in the sample agree that they had not yet started a family because of their career, and that they have had fewer children because of the demands of their work.

These perceptions appear to be borne out by the data. The women in managerial and professional positions in our sample spent more time in child care per week (11.5 hours) than the women in non-professional or technical positions. They also spent more time in child care than their male counterparts in managerial and professional positions. Their spouses were no more likely than any other group of men in the sample to share responsibility for child care—despite the heavier work demands assumed by these women. These data would suggest that many professional women in Canada have bought into the concept of "supermom" and place very high demands on themselves with respect to both work and family.

The above findings suggest that professional women in Canada are delaying having children in order to focus their attention on their careers.

Impact of Sector

What impact does sector of employment have on the work and family issues examined in this report? This analysis indicated that the dependent care responsibilities, non-work demands and (with a few exceptions) demographic characteristics of the sample were not associated with sector.[52] There were, however, a number of important sectoral differences with respect to work demands. Virtually all of these differences indicate that work expectations are higher in the not-for-profit sector. The men in the not-for-profit sector sample were shown to have the heaviest burdens with respect to paid overtime. The women in this sector were more likely to feel that they could not refuse overtime. Both men and women in this sector were more likely to engage in supplemental work at home, work unpaid overtime and travel on the weekends. They also "donated" the most time to their employer. The heavy workloads in this sector are consistent with the budget cuts and downsizing initiatives experienced within both the education and health care fields in the last few years (i.e. fewer bodies to do the same amount of work). It should also be noted that private-sector employees also spend a high number of hours per week in paid employment. The travel and overtime demands reported by those in the private sector are, however, lower.

Impact of Dependent Care

What impact does having responsibility for the care of dependents have on the work and family issues examined in this report? While respondents with dependent care responsibilities differed in a number of interesting ways from those without dependent care, many of these differences were linked to gender. The data reviewed in this study support the following conclusions:

- Employees with dependent care responsibilities had more demands on their time.
- Dependent care increased financial strains within families.
- Dependent care responsibilities did not result in a reduced time commitment to work.
- Employees with dependent care responsibilities were less able to engage in career development activities.
- Employees who have children living at home, an elderly relative living with them or nearby, primary responsibility for child care, elder care, or both spent more time in dependent care responsibilities.

The data are unequivocal—employees with dependent care responsibilities have more demands on their time than their counterparts without child care or elder care. They spent more than twice as much time in non-work activities as those without dependent care responsibilities (23 hours versus 10 hours) and approximately 3 hours less per week in leisure. Families with dependent care responsibilities devoted approximately 110 hours per week to work and non-work activities—a substantially greater time commitment than observed in families without dependent care responsibilities (90 hours per

52 The not-for-profit sector sample has a higher proportion of highly educated professionals.

week). In this sample, child care could be seen to generate heavier time demands than elder care. Respondents with elder care responsibilities spent approximately 5.3 hours helping their elderly relative; parents spent approximately 10.8 hours per week in child care.

Respondents with dependent care status were also more likely to say that in their family "money is tight," although their family incomes were essentially the same as those without dependent care responsibilities. This suggests that dependent care responsibilities increase work–family demands while simultaneously reducing one's ability to cope financially.

Despite the fact that they have heavier demands and more responsibilities outside of work, employees with dependent care commitments spent the same amount of time in work each week as their counterparts without dependent care status. These data suggest that men and women who have dependent care responsibilities have more demands on their time than those without such obligations (i.e. time in work the same but time spent in non-work activities higher).

It is also interesting to note that employees with dependent care responsibilities were more likely to perform supplemental work at home. Future analysis of the data will determine if this strategy is an effective way for parents and those with elder care commitments to cope with increased work demands or if it is associated with increased work–life conflict.

Finally, it is interesting to note that men and women with dependent care responsibilities were less likely to engage in educational activities than their counterparts without dependent care status. This may hinder their ability to take advantage of career development opportunities.

Impact of Gender and Dependent Care

There were a number of key differences in the data that could be linked to both gender and dependent care status. Men with dependent care responsibilities were more likely than women with dependent care status to be married. Women without dependent care responsibilities had more formal education (45% with university education) than the women with dependent care responsibilities (35% with university). No such difference was observed in the male sample.

Men with dependent care responsibilities, on the other hand, had greater work demands than their female counterparts; invested more time in paid work per week and spent more weeknights away from home than women with dependent care status. This greater investment in work may give men an advantage with respect to career advancement.

9.3 Recommendations

The above data suggest a number of possible recommendations. Three sets of recommendations are proposed: those for employers, those for employees and those for government.

What Can Employers Do?

Employers need to:

a) identify ways of reducing employee workloads (this is especially true for not-for-profit sector employers). Special attention needs to be given to reducing the workloads of managers and professionals in all sectors;

b) identify ways to reduce the amount of time employees spend in job-related travel;

c) recognize and reward overtime work;

d) reduce their reliance on both paid and unpaid overtime;

e) give employees the opportunity to say "no" when asked to work overtime. Saying "no" should not be a career-limiting move;

f) make alternative work arrangements more widely available within their organization;

g) look at career development and career advancement opportunities through a "work–life" lens (i.e. how should productivity be measured? When should training be offered? Where can work be done?) Employees should not have to choose between having a family and career advancement; and

h) examine work expectations, rewards and benefits through a "life-cycle" lens. What employees are able to do/motivated to do and what rewards and benefits they desire will change with life-cycle stage.

What Can Employees Do?

Employees should:

i) say "no" to overtime hours if work expectations are unreasonable;

j) try to limit the amount of work they take home to complete in the evenings. If they do take work home, they should make every effort to separate time in work from family time (i.e. do work after the children go to bed, have a home office);

k) try to reduce the amount of time they spend in job-related travel; and

l) take advantage of the flexible work arrangements available in their organization.

What Can Governments Do?

Governments (federal, provincial and municipal) need to:

m) take the lead with respect to the issue of child care. In particular, they need to determine how to best help employed Canadians deal with child care issues (i.e. develop appropriate policies for parents of children of various ages, identify and implement relevant supports);

n) take the lead with respect to the issue of elder care. In particular, they need to determine how to best help employed Canadians deal with elder care issues (i.e. develop appropriate policies, identify and implement relevant supports);

o) "lead by example" with respect to the availability and accessibility of flexible work arrangements (i.e. it is not enough just to offer a wide variety of alternative work arrangements, employees must feel that they can use such arrangements without penalty);

p) investigate ways to increase Canadians' awareness of how social roles and responsibilities have changed over the past several decades, what changes still need to happen, and why (i.e. social marketing campaign, education programs in schools, advertisements); and

q) examine how they can reduce the "financial penalties" associated with parenthood (i.e. determine how to concretely recognize that these employees have higher costs).

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Appendix B: Sectoral Estimates

How representative is this sample distribution? It is very difficult to provide an exact answer for this question because:

- there is little agreement on who to include in the not-for-profit sector,
- Statistics Canada does not isolate out information on the not-for-profit sector,
- there is an absence of comprehensive national data sources or studies which deal with the not-for-profit sector, and
- most data sources do not break the information down by organizational size (i.e. totals based on total labour force).

Statistics Canada collects labour force data through regular household and business surveys. These surveys classify workers and businesses according to industrial systems of classification that distinguish between the government sector and the private sector. Not-for-profit sector workers and organizations who respond to these surveys are classified in either the private or public sectors according to their area of activity. This makes it impossible to isolate data on not-for-profit sector organizations for separate analysis (Davidson et al., 1998).

Estimates of the number of workers in the public and private sectors were calculated using the 1997 Labour Force Survey. This survey indicates that in 1997 there were 11,888,300 Canadians 15 years of age and older who were in the Canadian workforce but not self-employed: 2,683,500 in the public sector and 9,384,800 in the private sector (health care and education were included in this grouping). Calculations done using these data suggest that approximately 22% of all Canadians work for the public service. This estimate is, however, based on the total workforce and includes employees who work for organizations employing fewer than 500 people. Johnson et al. (2001) indicate that only 40% of Canadians work for private-sector organizations with 500+ employees. If we consider only those Canadians who work for larger companies, therefore, it is likely that the percentage employed within the public service is greater than 22%.

Our estimate of the number of Canadians employed in what we are referring to as the not-for-profit sector was obtained using 1996 Census data.[53] These data indicated that in 1996, 1,005,590 Canadians were employed in the education sector (637,395 women and 368,195 men) and 1,409,170 in health and social service industries (1,141,770 women and 267,400 men). According to the 1996 Census, there were 14,317,545 Canadians 15 years of age and over in the labour force in 1996. Calculations using these data suggest that approximately 17% of Canadians worked in health care, social services and education (33% of our sample work in the not-for-profit sectors). Again, however, this is only an estimate of the percentage of Canadians employed in the not-for-profit sector. We were not able to obtain an estimate of the number of Canadians employed in protective services, such as policing or fire fighting, or in other not-for-profit organizations. The estimate is further limited by the fact that part-time employees and those working for firms employing fewer than 500 individuals were not included in our sample but are included in the estimates calculated above.

The 1997 Canadian Labour Force Survey data indicate that the public sector workforce is 53.3% female and 46.7% male. This is virtually the same gender breakdown as we observed in our public-sector sample. Furthermore, the 1996 Census data indicate that health and social services and education are female-dominated sectors (approximately 70% of those employed in this sector are female). When one excludes from these totals the number of women in this sector who work part time (28% is the estimate provided by Johnson et al., 2001), one arrives at a gender breakdown which is very similar to our sample. These data would suggest that the gender imbalance observed in our not-for-profit and public-sector samples likely reflects the actual gender distribution in this sector.

The above calculations would suggest that approximately 60% of Canadians are employed in the private sector (as opposed to 21% of our sample). Furthermore, it would appear that the majority of employees in the private sector are male (Gunderson, Hyatt and Riddell 2000 give the gender breakdown of the private sector as 54% male and 46% female). When taken in concert, these analyses indicate that private-sector employees (especially male private-sector employees) are under-represented in our sample. This finding reinforces the need to report all data by sector and gender.

53 Statistics Canada. 1996 Census, Nation Series. Catalogue No. 93F0027XDB96009.

Appendix C: Between Group Differences

Table One
Summary of Demographic Differences

Variable	Gender	Sector	Job Type	Dependent Care (DC)
Age	Men older than women	Private, younger	No differences	No DC are younger
Marital Status	Men more likely to be married	Men, NFP sector more likely to be married	Men professionals more likely to be married	No DC more likely to be single
Family Type	Men more likely to be in traditional, dual-career and dual-mixed families Women more likely to be in single-parent and dual-earner families	No differences	Male professionals more likely to be in dual-career and traditional families Female non-professionals more likely to be single parents	No DC more likely to be single
Urban/Rural	No differences	No differences	No differences	No differences
Province	No differences	No differences	No differences	No differences
Pop. of Community	No differences	No differences	Professionals live in larger centres	No differences
Language	No differences	NFP more likely English	No differences	No differences
Job Type	Men more likely to be professionals; women more likely to be non-professionals	NFP more professionals (evenly split by gender) Public and private sector: the women are more likely to be non-professionals Technical employees more likely to be in private and public sector		No differences
Education	Men more likely to have university education	NFP sector more formal education Women in private sector more likely to have HS	Professionals: more likely university Non-professionals: more likely HS only Technical: more likely college diploma	Women with more formal education less likely to have children
Income	Women were more likely to make under $40,000 Men were more likely to make more than $60,000	Private sector more likely to make under $40,000; NFP sector more highly paid (especially the women)	Professionals received the highest levels of pay, non-professionals the lowest	No differences
Family Income	No differences	No differences	Professionals more likely to be in families making more than $100,000	No differences
Family Financial Status	No differences	NFP sector more likely to say money is not an issue	Professionals more likely to say money is not an issue Non-professionals more likely to say money is tight	Those with DC more likely to say money is tight

Note: NFP: not-for-profit; HS: high school

Table Two
Summary of Differences: Dependent Care

Variable	Gender	Sector	Job Type	Dependent Care (DC)
% with Children	Men more likely to have children	Women in the private-sector sample less likely to have children	Women professionals less likely to have children Male professionals more likely to have children	Those with DC more likely to have children
Number of Children	No differences	No differences	No differences	No differences
Age of Children	No differences	No differences	No differences	Those without DC more likely to have older children
Responsibility for Child Care	Both men and women agree that women more likely to have responsibility	No differences	No differences	Those with DC more likely to say they have responsibility
% with Elder Care	No differences	No differences	No differences	Those with DC more likely to say they have responsibility
Type of Elder Care	Women more likely to care for an elderly dependent who lives nearby	No differences	No differences	Those with DC more likely to care for an elderly dependent who lives nearby or with them
Responsibility for Elder Care	Women were more likely to say they had primary responsibility while men were more likely to say responsibility was shared	No differences	No differences	Those with DC were more likely to say they had responsibility
Care of Disabled	No differences	No differences	No differences	No differences
Sandwich Generation	No differences	No differences	No differences	No differences

Table Three
Summary of Differences in Characteristics of Work

Variable	Gender	Sector	Job Type	Dependent Care (DC)
Supervisory Status	Men more likely to supervise others	No differences	Professionals more likely to supervise others	No differences
Span of Control	Men have higher spans of control	No differences	Professionals have higher spans of control	No differences
Years in Organization	Men have been with their organization longer	Men in NFP sector have longer tenure, men in private sector shorter tenure	No differences	No differences
Years in Position	No differences	Women in NFP sector longer time in current position	No differences	No differences
% Belonging to Union	Depends on sector NFP and public, women more likely to belong to union Private-sector men more likely to belong to union	Public sector is most unionized; private sector is least unionized	Professionals less likely to belong to a union	No differences
% Working Part Time	Women more likely to work part time	Women in NFP sector more likely to work part time	No differences	Those with DC more likely to work part time
% in Temporary Work	No differences	Women in public sector more likely to hold temporary positions	Women non-professionals more likely to hold temporary positions	No differences
Use of Alternative Work Arrangements	No differences	Use of flextime highest in private sector Use of atypical schedules highest in NFP sector	Professionals more likely to work flextime Non-professionals more likely to work regular day	No differences
% Guerilla Teleworking	No differences	Men in private sector more likely to guerilla telework	Professionals more likely to guerilla telework	Those with no DC more likely to guerilla telework
% Working Shifts	Depends on job type, sector and DC	NFP sector more likely to work rotating shift Women in NFP sector most likely to work rotating shift	Male non-professionals more likely to work shifts	Women with DC less likely to work shifts
% Who "Off-Shift" Child Care	Men more likely to off-shift than women	No differences	Professionals more likely to off-shift	Men with DC more likely to off-shift. No such differences noted for women

Note: NFP: not-for-profit

Table Four
Summary of Differences in Work Demands

Variable	Gender	Sector	Job Type	Dependent Care (DC)
Hours of Work per Week	Men spend more time in work per week than women	Respondents in the public sector spend fewer hours in work per week	Professionals spend more time in work per week	No differences
Likelihood of SWAH	Men more likely to perform SWAH	NFP sector more likely to perform SWAH Men in public sector less likely to perform SWAH	Professionals more likely to perform SWAH	Those with DC more likely to perform SWAH
Time in SWAH	No differences	Those in NFP sector spend more time	No differences	No differences
Likelihood of Paid Overtime	Men more likely to perform paid overtime than women	Those in NFP sector more likely to work paid overtime	Technical employees most likely to work paid overtime	No differences
Time in Paid Overtime	Men more time in paid overtime than women	Men in NFP sector less time in paid overtime	Technical and non-professional employees most time in paid overtime	No differences
Likelihood of Unpaid Overtime	Men more likely to perform unpaid overtime than women	Those in NFP sector most likely to perform unpaid overtime	Professionals more likely to perform unpaid overtime	Those with DC more likely to perform unpaid overtime
Time in Unpaid Overtime	No differences	Those in public sector spend less time in unpaid overtime	Professionals perform more hours of unpaid overtime	No differences
Ability to Refuse Overtime	Women more likely to be able to refuse overtime	NFP less likely to feel they can refuse overtime	Professionals less likely to say they can refuse overtime	No differences
Likelihood of Further Education	No differences	No differences	Professionals more likely to pursue education	Those without DC more likely to pursue education
Time in Education	No differences	No differences	No differences	No differences
Time in Commute	No differences	No differences	No differences	No differences
Likelihood of Weeknight Away	Men more likely than women to spend weeknights away	No differences	Professionals are more likely to spend weeknights away	Men with DC more likely than men without DC to spend weeknight away
Number of Weeknights Away	No differences	No differences	No differences	No differences
Likelihood of Weekend Night Away	Men more likely than women to travel weekends	Those in the NFP sector more likely to travel weekends	Professionals are more likely to travel on weekends	No differences
Number of Weekend Nights Away	No differences	Those in the NFP sector spend more weekends away	No differences	No differences
Likelihood of Travel to Another Site	Men more likely than women to travel	Those in the NFP sector more likely to travel	Professionals are more likely to travel	No differences
Hours Driving to Another Site	No differences	Those in the NFP sector spend more hours on the road	Non-professionals spend more hours on the road	Men with DC spend more hours on the road than men without DC
Total Time in Work-Respondent	Men more time than women	Those in the NFP sector spend more time	Professionals spend more time	No differences

Note: SWAH: Supplemental work at home; NFP not-for-profit.

Table Five
Summary of Differences in Non-Work Demands

Variable	Gender	Sector	Job Type	Dependent Care (DC)
Time in Home Chores	Women more than men	No differences	No differences	Those with DC spend more time
Time in Child Care	No differences	No differences	Female professionals more time	Those with DC spend more time
Time in Elder Care	No differences	No differences	No differences	Those with DC spend more time
Time in Leisure	Men more than women	No differences	No differences	Those with DC spend less time
Time in Volunteer Activities	Men more than women	No differences	No differences	Those with DC spend more time
Total Time in Work and Family by the Family	No differences	Those in NFP sample spend more time	Those in the professional sample spend more time	Those in DC sample spend more time